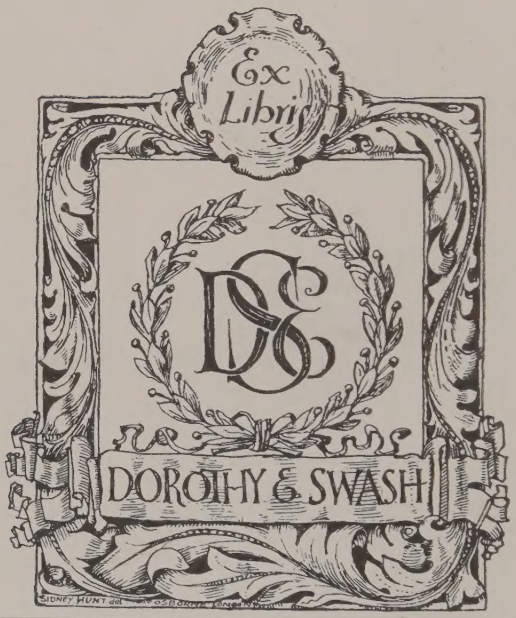

PRESENTED BY Mrs. E. SWASH, 1931

IN MEMORY OF HER LATE HUSBAND,

EDWARD SWASH,

AND HER LATE DAUGHTER,

DOROTHY EVELINE SWASH.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

VOL. III.

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A

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE

CONCLUSION OF THE GREAT WAR IN 1815

BY

SIR SPENCER WALPOLE, K.C.B.

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF LORD JOHN RUSSELL"

VOL. III.

NEW IMPRESSION

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER X.

FOREIGN POLICY FROM PARIS TO NAVARINO.

THE victory of Waterloo, and the arrangements which followed the battle, gave the great military nations of Europe nearly forty years of peace. The first-rate powers of the Continent were not again arrayed in arms against one another till an entire generation had passed away. The lesser powers, however, did not derive the same advantages from the negotiations which followed the victory. Whole nations were handed over to czar or king without any reference to their own feelings. Countries whose geographical position made their annexation impracticable were consigned to the rule or misrule of their hereditary sovereigns. The restoration of the Bourbons to France was followed by the restoration of the Bourbons to Spain and Naples. The illustrious diplomatists of the Continent were too deeply interested in maintaining the divine right of kings to ignore the claims of the minor potentates of Continental Europe.

The arrangements after Waterloo.

There are few subjects which deserve more consideration from the world at large, and from Englishmen in particular, than the history of the decline and fall of Spain. Up to a certain point there is a striking similarity between the history of Spain and that of this country. Spain, like the United Kingdom, originally consisted of different states. The people of Castille and Aragon, on their union at the end of the fifteenth century, enjoyed greater liberties than

Spain.

the English or the Scotch had obtained at that time. The many admirable qualities which Isabella the Catholic possessed proved of the highest advantage to the kingdom which she was called upon to govern. Her policy in many respects resembled the course which, in a succeeding generation, was pursued by Elizabeth of England. Fortunately, however, for her subjects, Elizabeth inherited from her mother the Protestant principles of the Reformed Church. Unfortunately for Spain, Isabella was above all things a Catholic. Elizabeth's first object was the increase of the glory, of the wealth, of the worldly happiness of her people. Isabella's first object was the promotion of the Catholic religion. A country which was not Catholic could not in her judgment be happy. In consequence of this unfortunate belief, her naturally kind heart was impelled to the commission of the most merciless cruelties. Jew and Moor were relentlessly driven from the Peninsula, and free thought and free will effectually burned out by the fires of the Inquisition. Isabella's subjects imitated to a great extent the merciless bigotry of their monarch. In Elizabeth's reign the English sailor ventured into unknown seas for the sake of the wealth and glory which were certain to secure him welcome from his queen on his return. The Spaniard in Isabella's reign conquered vast territories for the sake of increasing the sway of the Pope of Rome.

The reign of Isabella.

The causes which produced the fall of Spain and the rise of England are to be traced in the reigns of Elizabeth and Isabella. Both queens left their countries in enjoyment of a material prosperity which they had never previously known; but the two queens were succeeded by very different personages. Twelve years after the death of Isabella, her grandson, Charles, the greatest general of his age, mounted her throne. Spain, Germany, and the Netherlands, united in his person, engaged in a series of military expeditions, in which the Spanish infantry acquired reputation, but from which Spain derived neither wealth nor advantage. Half a century after her death, her great-grandson, Philip, imitating only too faithfully her own example, forced

The reigns of Charles V. and Philip II.,

the Netherlands into revolt, and occupied a whole reign in a vain endeavour to recover a dominion which his folly and his bigotry had lost. The Spaniards forgot their privileges amidst the glories which Charles V. won for them; they forgot their own liberties in their determination to extirpate liberty from the Netherlands. England, on the contrary, was reserved for a different fate. "King" Elizabeth, as the elder Disraeli observes, was succeeded by "Queen" James. The worthless pedant was succeeded by his well-intentioned but misjudging son. The extravagance of the Stuarts made them dependent on the people. Selden, Hampden, Pym, and Eliot stood at bay against the court. The crown fell, and with the fall of the crown the liberties of the people were assured. Forty years, indeed, elapsed before the fruits of the Civil War were finally secured. The military government of Cromwell was, in some respects, more injurious to freedom than the illegal exactions of the two first Stuart kings. The restoration of Charles II. reproduced the illegalities of his father. But the time had gone when a bad sovereign could be allowed to curse the country permanently with arbitrary government. The Stuarts were driven out of the kingdom amidst the general execration of the nation; and Parliament, learning wisdom from experience, refused to repose unlimited trust in another sovereign. In changing a king, it remodelled a system, appropriating the sums which it granted to specific uses, and ensuring obedience to its decisions by auditing the expenditure.

contrasted with the Stuarts of England.

Ever since the Revolution of 1688, England, secure in the enjoyment of the blessings of freedom, has prospered. Her wealth has been continually increasing; her dominion has been constantly extended; and, with a few exceptional occasions, her population has been acquiring fresh influence in her Government. Ever since the reign of Philip II., on the contrary, Spain has been deprived of social and religious freedom. Her empire has been gradually contracted; her trade has been constantly reduced; her population has been impoverished, her treasury emptied, and her influence

The fall of Spain.

annihilated. Spain, which, three centuries ago, was the most powerful among the nations of Europe, is one of the most impotent of them all.

A weak and languid Government controlled the fortunes of Spain in 1807. Godoï, the Prince of the Peace, exercised an almost boundless influence over the mind of his sovereign, Charles IV. Ferdinand, heir to the throne, dissatisfied at the favourite's power, entered into a secret intrigue with Napoleon, who readily took advantage of the divisions at the Spanish court. Under the pretext of partitioning the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal, he marched a strong force into the Peninsula, and seized some of the most important positions in the country. Charles IV. was urged to imitate the example of the neighbouring house of Braganza, and to withdraw to his colonial dominions in America. But the nation prevented the realisation of a scheme to which the weak king would probably have subscribed. The Prince of the Peace was arrested; Charles IV. was persuaded to abdicate, and Ferdinand mounted the throne.

The abdication of Charles IV.

Ferdinand was no better match for Napoleon than his weak and incompetent father. He was tricked to meet the emperor at Bayonne; and found himself, for all practical purposes, a prisoner. Charles was persuaded by the French to resume the power which he had formally laid down; with equal ease he was induced to renounce it in favour of Napoleon. Napoleon made his brother Joseph king of Spain; and, with characteristic energy, devised a new constitution for the unhappy country. Spain, for the moment stunned by the suddenness of the blow which had thus been inflicted on her, submitted to French dictation. But the calm which prevailed was only momentary. The people rose against the French; they achieved an important success at Baylen; they proved their constancy and their fortitude at Saragossa; and the struggle commenced which, in its ultimate results, proved as disastrous to Napoleon as the flames of Moscow or the frosts of Russia.

Joseph Buonaparte made king.

Ferdinand the Bourbon was restored to the throne of Spain,

and no sovereign ever had a harder task before him than that to which he succeeded. A Cortes, nominally representing the kingdom, but in reality chosen by the few towns which, in 1812, had been free from the presence of the French, usurped the authority of the State. Its democratic views, its oppressive measures, offended the majority of the nation. Ferdinand was welcomed as the liberator of his country from its dictation. "*Viva il re assoluto!*" was the shout which was raised and reiterated as he approached. Impelled by the voice of the nation, deceived by the universal unpopularity of the Cortes, Ferdinand ventured to annul all its acts and to restore absolute government to Spain. The king, indeed, while abolishing the Cortes of 1812, promised to take immediate steps for convening a new one. But the burst of popularity which greeted him in the first instance, and the injudicious advice of the counsellors by whom he was surrounded, prevented him from fulfilling his promises. The new Cortes was not convoked, and the Inquisition in a moderate form was reconstituted.

The restoration of the Bourbons.

The dissolution of the Cortes.

The Spaniards had hailed with pleasure the dissolution of an assembly which had not fairly represented their country; they cheered to the echo the monarch who had the courage to dismiss it. But the dismissal of the Cortes was popular because it was regarded as an indispensable step towards the convocation of a new one. As soon as it was evident that the king's advisers were bent on the institution of arbitrary government, the unpopularity which had been concentrated on the Cortes descended on Ferdinand. Serious disturbances broke out in different parts of the country; and, though they were suppressed, the severity which attended their suppression increased the unpopularity of the new Government. Every fresh riot afforded the friends of arbitrary rule a new excuse for repressive measures; every fresh measure of repression afforded the friends of liberal administration a new excuse for rebellion. Absolutists and liberals, arrayed against each other, were driven to plot and

Discontent and disturbances.

counterplot; to obscure rebellion on the one side, and to unjustifiable severity on the other.

The Spanish colonies.

There was, however, one subject on which men of all parties were agreed. Every Spaniard was proud of the magnificent empire which Spanish valour had won for Spain in the New World. The Transatlantic dependencies of Spain exceeded in extent the enormous colonial empire which Britain has acquired. They were originally divided into two huge viceroyalties. The viceroyalty of Mexico comprised all the dominions of Spain in North America; the viceroyalty of Peru comprised all her possessions in South America. But as time wore on these huge viceroyalties were subdivided for the purposes of government. The viceroyalty of New Granada was carved out of the northern territory of Peru; the viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata was cut off from Peru on the south. Even these four viceroyalties proved too cumbrous for administration. The territory of Venezuela, on the north-east coast of South America; the territory of Chili, on the south-west coast of the same continent; the territory of Guatemala, the link between North and South America; the island of Cuba and the adjacent coasts of Florida; Porto Rico and the other West India islands belonging to Spain, were formed into separate captains-generalships. The magnificent Transatlantic possessions of Spain were thus placed under four viceroys and five captains-general.

It is impossible in a history of England to trace either the cause or the progress of the rebellion which led ultimately to the independence of South America. During the earlier years Spain was, on the whole, successful. Hidalgo, who had dared the authority of Spain in Mexico, was defeated and put to death. Miranda, who had been the first to raise the standard of revolt, and who had been the most powerful of the rebels, died. Bolivar, who succeeded Miranda, experienced an apparently decisive defeat. Revolutionary Juntas in Columbia and Buenos Ayres, however, still defied the authority of the mother country. In 1817 the Junta at Buenos Ayres sent an army into Chili, and in two victories drove the

Spaniards from that colony. It was abundantly evident that the authority of Spain in the New World was again tottering to its fall, and that nothing but the most decisive measures could lead to its restoration.

Decisive measures could, however, be taken only with difficulty by the exhausted and divided country in which Ferdinand was asserting his absolute authority. Spain, in the days of her prosperity, had depended for her wealth on her Transatlantic possessions, and the rebellions of the last ten years had emptied her treasury and reduced her resources. A vast continent could not be reconquered without a considerable force, and Spain had neither ships nor money for equipping a great armament. In 1818 she was in a state of extreme exhaustion. "Nothing I could say," wrote a British resident, "could convey to you an adequate idea of the wretchedness, misery, want of credit, confidence, and trade, which exist from one end of the country to the other. The army is naked and unpaid; navy there is none; and the roads are covered with bands of forty or fifty robbers each."[1] In these circumstances, Spain was glad of the opportunity of disposing of a portion of her colonial empire to the United States. The sale of the Floridas was doubly advantageous to the Spanish Government. It provided Spain with a little ready money; it relieved her from a serious international difficulty. The northern boundary of Florida was separated from the southern boundary of the States by "an imaginary line," which it was impossible to guard, and which it was easy to pass. The "imaginary line" was constantly passed and repassed by the aboriginal inhabitants of the district, the Seminole Indians. The Seminoles made a raid into the United States and retreated, when they were pursued, into the territory of Spain. As the authority of Spain had ceased to exist, the President of the United States claimed the right to pursue the enemy into Spanish territory, and ordered the United States troops to do so.[2]

The sale of the Floridas.

[1] Sir P. Roche to Mr. E. Cooke, Oct. 22, 1818.—*Castlereagh Corresp.*, vol. xii. p. 73.

[2] See *Ann. Reg.*, 1818, Hist., pp. 171–180. *State Papers*, vol. viii. pp. 524 557.

A state of things, therefore, had obviously arisen which might at any moment have led to war. War was avoided by the sale of the Floridas to the United States for 5,000,000 dollars.[1] The sale provided Spain with a little money, and left her free to deal with her insurgent provinces. Russia was readily prevailed upon to sell her some old frigates. Badly built originally of pitch-pine, worn out by long service, the crazy vessels were hardly equal to a voyage from the Baltic to Cadiz. It was impossible to despatch them across the Atlantic until they were repaired, and their repair necessarily occupied some months. In the interval the troops, which had been collected for the expedition in the Isle of Leon, became more and more discontented. Ill fed, ill clothed, ill paid, they murmured against the necessity of embarking on crazy vessels for a king whom they did not reverence, and in a cause which they did not understand. Their murmurs were so loud that they reached the ears of the authorities. O'Donnell, Count Abisbal, one of the most famous of Spanish generals, hastily collected a considerable force, and, surrounding the camp of the mutineers, awed them into obedience. Three thousand of them were embarked and despatched to America. These measures quelled the mutiny for a time, but the threatened outbreak proved fatal to the expedition. The Spanish Government, nervously afraid of every one, removed O'Donnell from his command. The advance guard of 3000 men carried the ships in which they sailed into Buenos Ayres and passed over to the insurgents. A serious outbreak of yellow fever at Cadiz compelled the Government to postpone the main expedition; and through the whole of 1819 no further steps were taken to quell the insurrection in South America.[2]

Preparations for a fresh expedition to America,

which is abandoned.

[1] The United States had a claim against Spain of 3,000,000 dollars for spoliations upon its commerce. They offered to abandon their claim if the Floridas were sold to them for 5,000,000 dollars. Spain, therefore, in addition to 5,000,000 dollars in hard cash, got rid of an inconvenient claim of 3,000,000 dollars. (See Chas. Bagot's letter to Lord Castlereagh, *Castlereagh Corresp.*, vol. xi. p. 345.)

[2] *Ann. Reg.*, 1819, Hist., p. 178.

While, however, Spain relaxed her efforts to subdue her colonies, the insurgents freed themselves more and more from the control of the mother country. Their own efforts were gradually achieving their independence, and their own efforts were nobly seconded by volunteers from Britain. Englishmen have an instinctive hatred of autocratic government, and an instinctive desire to array themselves under any standard which may be raised in the name of freedom in any part of the world. The same feeling which, eleven years afterwards, led to the battle of Navarino, roused the nation to support the cause of South American independence in 1816.

The insurgents receive aid from Britain.

England, moreover, was largely reducing her armaments. Large numbers of officers and men found themselves without employment and without any clear means of obtaining remunerative work. It was almost inevitable that these men, who were inured to war, should be ready to dispose of their services to any power prepared to engage them. Soon after the peace several British officers left this country to enter the service of the insurgents; the number became so considerable that the Government thought it necessary to notify that officers enlisting on foreign service without license would lose their half-pay. This step, however, had no effect. The disposition to enter the service of the insurgents was not checked. "Soldiers were raised, regiments formed, uniforms of various descriptions prepared, and considerable bodies of men openly embarked for South America."[1] A battalion was paid off at Chatham, and 300 men immediately enlisted in the service of the insurgents.[2] The English did more than fill the ranks of the insurgents. Lord Cochrane, the eldest son of the Earl of Dundonald, was one of the most brilliant sailors in the British navy. In 1801, while in command of a little brig, manned by only fifty-four men and boys, and armed with only four small guns, he had attacked and taken the *El Gamo*, a Spanish frigate with

Lord Cochrane joins them.

[1] Lord Bathurst in House of Lords. (*Hansard*, vol. xl. p. 1379.)
[2] C. Wynn in House of Commons. (Ibid., p. 886.)

32 guns and 319 men. In 1809 he had been selected to command the fireships which, laden with combustibles, had thrown themselves on the French fleet in Basque Roads. Nelson himself had never displayed more skill and more daring than this brilliant officer. His exploits gave him great popularity among his fellow-countrymen. His advanced political opinions made him peculiarly acceptable to a large constituency, and Cochrane was elected member for Westminster. While he was member for Westminster the circumstance occurred which led to his expulsion from the House of Commons. A gentleman in French uniform suddenly arrived at Dover, announced the fall of Napoleon, and hurriedly posted to Lord Cochrane's house in London. The Funds rose; Lord Cochrane's uncle sold his stock, and made a large sum of money; and it was usually supposed that Lord Cochrane himself derived some advantage from the officer's visit to his house. He was indicted with others for a conspiracy to defraud, and was convicted. The severity of the sentence which Ellenborough passed on him caused the opinion of the public to react in his favour. The Government was compelled to remit the greater part of the punishment. Cochrane, though expelled from the House of Commons, was immediately re-elected by his constituents; and circumstances which would have tarnished the reputation of most men only increased the popularity of this brilliant officer.

Cochrane joined the insurgents in 1818. In November of that year he arrived at Valparaiso, and was made at once Vice-Admiral of Chili. The terror of his name caused the Spanish men-of-war to abandon the seas; his presence infused new life into the insurgents' cause, new vigour into their operations. The enthusiasm of the British nation for the insurgents was increased when the hero of the Basque Roads became their most prominent leader; and men gladly joined a service where Cochrane was in command, who would have hesitated to place themselves under the standard of Bolivar. Cochrane, however, had never been popular either at the Admiralty or on the Ministerial benches of the House of Commons. At the

Admiralty he was regarded as a troublesome officer, opposed to mere routine, and in the habit of pressing his own claims and those of his subordinates with a heat which was inconvenient and distasteful to the officials. In the House of Commons he was considered as an intemperate politician, prepared to endorse the extreme views of the Radicals out of doors, and ready at any time to present their most offensive petitions. An enthusiastic Reformer of this description was not likely to be popular among the members of the Administration. His adherence to the insurgents was not calculated to make them sympathise with the cause of South American independence. But the ministry could under no circumstances have continued to ignore the armed expeditions which were continually leaving this country for South America. Two Acts, passed in the reign of George II., made it felony for any British subject to enter into the service of any foreign state. Under these Acts it would have been illegal for any British subject to have enlisted in the armies of the King of Spain. But the insurgent colonies of Spain had not been recognised as states. From the accident that they had not been so recognised the Acts of George II. did not apply to British subjects enlisting in their service. The ministry consequently proposed that it should be made illegal for a British subject to enter the service, not merely of a foreign king, prince, or potentate, but also of "a colony or district who do assume the powers of a government." By another clause of the bill they forbade the fitting out of a vessel for the purposes of war.

The Foreign Enlistment Act.

It is difficult to see how any ministry could have avoided proposing some such measure as the Foreign Enlistment Act; But the Opposition was determined to resist it. Many of them sympathised with the colonists in their struggle with the mother country, and thought that the autocratic Government at Madrid had no right to demand any alteration of the laws in their own favour, especially as Spain had forfeited any claim to consideration by selling the Floridas to the United States. "The historical records of England," said Mackintosh, "afforded

innumerable instances of British troops serving under foreign belligerents without subjecting themselves to any penalty. A Catholic regiment served in the Spanish service in Flanders under Lord Arundel of Wardour; a regiment of Scotch Catholics, commanded by the Earl of Home, entered the service of the King of France. In neither instance was any breach of neutrality supposed to have taken place. The celebrated Bynkershoek, president of the courts of Holland, denied that it was a breach of neutrality to allow a friendly belligerent to levy troops in your territory. Gustavus Adolphus had in his pay a band of six thousand men raised in Scotland and led by the Marquis of Hamilton. The Spanish and Imperial ambassadors were resident in London, but neither of them presumed to remonstrate. It was expressly laid down by Vattel that a nation did not commit a breach of neutrality by allowing its subjects to enter the service of one belligerent, and refusing the same permission with respect to another. There was one case more. In the reign of James I. a great body of English troops, commanded by Sir Horace Vere, served against the Spaniards, and received pay from a foreign power. Yet Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, dared not go so far as to require the boon which his Majesty's ministers now called on the House of Commons of England to have the condescension to grant." Mackintosh's speech made a profound impression on the House; but neither his learning nor his eloquence affected the issue. The Foreign Enlistment Act was passed through all its stages and became law.[1]

The mutiny of the Spanish army.

The time was, however, gone when the sympathy of a foreign state could have restored the tottering authority of the Spanish monarchy. On the first day of February 1820, a military revolt broke out among the troops in Andalusia, in the extreme south-west of Spain. The mutineers placed themselves under the command of two energetic officers—Colonel Riego and Lieutenant-Colonel Quiroga—who found themselves at the head of a considerable

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xl. pp. 362–374, 858, 867–910, 1083–1117, 1232–1285, 1377–1416. *Ann. Reg.*, 1819, Hist., pp. 71–76.

force. Baffled, however, in an attempt on Cadiz, and receiving no active aid from the surrounding population, the mutiny seemed likely to terminate in failure. O'Donnell, the brother of the general who had suppressed the revolt of the previous year, drove Riego into the mountainous district of Ronda, in Granada. Quiroga with 4000 troops was shut up by General Freyre in the Isle of Leon. The rebellion in the South of Spain seemed on the point of being suppressed, when the news of it was slowly brought to Galicia, in the extreme north-west. The troops at Corunna and at Ferrol, animated by the news, threw off their allegiance and imitated the example which had been set them by Riego and Quiroga. The Government of Ferdinand was thrown into perplexity by these various rebellions; and a still more formidable defection completed the revolution. O'Donnell, Count Abisbal, had in the previous year restored the royal authority. The shabby treatment which he had experienced from Ferdinand probably rankled in his breast. Hastily leaving Madrid, he proclaimed the Constitution at Oçana. The troops immediately pronounced in his favour. Ferdinand, isolated by the defection, found himself unable to continue resistance. Making a virtue of necessity, he consented to summon the Cortes and to swear fidelity to the Constitution. The Cortes rapidly removed every trace of the autocratic Government of the preceding six years. "New commercial regulations were adopted; the press was declared free; entails were abolished; all the convents and monasteries, except eight, were dissolved; and the revenues were ordered to be applied to the payment of the national debt."[1]

The Spanish Constitution proclaimed.

These events, rapidly succeeding one another in Spain, made a profound impression on the people of other nations. But there were two countries to which the revolutionary movement in Spain was particularly liable to spread. Portugal was united to Spain by nature; Naples by the blood of her sovereign. The rebellion in Andalusia and the rebellion in Galicia had broken out in

The Revolution extends to Portugal.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1819, Hist., pp. 178, 181; and Hist., 1820, pp. 221–231.

provinces which marched upon the northern and southern boundaries of Portugal; and Portugal happened to be in a condition which made it peculiarly susceptible to disaffection. Ever since 1807 Portugal had not known a court. On the first threat of French invasion the Regent had emigrated to the Brazils, and he had since lived and ruled entirely in the great Transatlantic colony. The ordinary conditions of other countries had been reversed. Portugal had virtually become a dependency of her own colony. The absence of the court was a sore trial to the pride of the Portuguese. An absent court had few supporters. It happened, too, that its ablest defender had lately left the country on a visit to Brazil. Marshal Beresford had made a great reputation in the Peninsula. His memorable stand at Albuera was properly regarded as one of the most brilliant achievements of the war; and his subsequent organisation of the Portuguese army, of which he still retained the command, made him one of the most powerful men in the country. Unfortunately, in April 1820, Beresford sailed for the Brazils. He did not return till the following October; and the revolution had been completed before his return. On the 24th of August the troops at Oporto determined on establishing a constitutional government, and appointed a provisional Junta with this object. The Regency which conducted the affairs of the country at Lisbon denounced the movement as a nefarious conspiracy. But, however nefarious the conspiracy might be, the defection of the army was so general that resistance became impossible. On the 1st of September the Regency issued a proclamation promising to convene the Cortes. The promise did not stop the progress of the insurrection. The Junta which had been constituted at Oporto marched at the head of the troops upon Lisbon. The troops at Lisbon and in the south of Portugal threw off their allegiance, and established a Junta of their own. The Junta at Lisbon was, for the moment, in favour of milder measures than the Junta of Oporto. But the advocates of the more extreme course won their ends. The Oporto troops, surrounding the two Juntas, which had been blended together, compelled

them to adopt the Spanish constitution; in other words, to sanction the election of one deputy to the Cortes for every 30,000 persons inhabiting the country.[1]

A rebellion more formidable even than that at Oporto occurred about the same time in Naples. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies had been united in 1735 under Charles III., son of the King of Spain. In 1759 Charles succeeded to the Spanish throne; and his third son thereupon became King of the Two Sicilies under the title of Ferdinand IV. Ferdinand, with Nelson's assistance, maintained his authority at Naples till 1806. The French entered Naples at the beginning of that year. Napoleon, in the first instance, placed his brother Joseph, and subsequently his brilliant lieutenant, Murat, on the throne; and Ferdinand was compelled to retire to the island of Sicily. The tragic events of 1815 effected his restoration. Ferdinand was re-established at Naples. Adversity, however, had not taught the old king wisdom. His government had been bad and tyrannical before 1806; it was bad and tyrannical after 1815.[2] Oppressive taxation sowed the seeds of rebellion; and a secret organisation, whose origin had been recent, but whose growth had been rapid, afforded the requisite machinery for effecting a revolution. Some years before, a few discontented republicans had retired from Naples to the Abruzzi and Calabria. The trade of the district to which they thus migrated was charcoal-burning, and from this circumstance they took the name of Carbonari, or charcoal-burners. Gradually acquiring strength and influence, their lodges ramified throughout Italy, till nearly 700,000 persons joined the society. In the eyes of autocracy the society was a "secte ténébreuse dont les chefs secrets ne cessaient de méditer la destruction de tous les gouvernemens." Murat, bent on conquering all Italy, deigned

Naples.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1820, Hist., pp. 232–338.

[2] Sir W. A'Court, the British minister at Naples, wrote to Lord Castlereagh of the Two Sicilies as "a kingdom in the highest degree flourishing and happy, under the mildest of Governments, and by no means oppressed by the weight of taxation."—*Castlereagh Corresp.*, vol. xii. p. 279. Sir W. A'Court's letter shows how little trust can be placed in the reports of envoys in foreign states.

to appeal to them. Ferdinand, restored by Austrian bayonets to his throne, did his best to neutralise them. The power of the Carbonari had either ceased or their activity had declined, when the news of the revolution in Spain threw fresh spirit into their counsels. The Neapolitan troops caught the infection. Early on the morning of the 2nd of July a cavalry regiment stationed at Nola raised a tricolour flag[1] and proclaimed the Constitution. The troops detached to quell the revolt made common cause with the rebels; the garrison of Naples deserted the royal cause; the regiments in the provinces imitated the example which had been set them at Nola; and the king, powerless from the defection of his army, promised to make known the bases of the Constitution within eight days.

The Spanish Constitution proclaimed in Naples.

The partial surrender of Ferdinand did not satisfy the army. The chiefs of the revolt insisted on the immediate proclamation of the Spanish Constitution. It was said that there was no copy of this Constitution at Naples; neither the king, his ministers, nor any Neapolitan had ever seen it; but the force of the revolutionary movement was so strong that the king had to give way. Within one week of the first revolt at Nola, without any bloodshed, the king was compelled to swear fidelity to the new order of things. In little more than a month a National Assembly completely reformed the institutions of Naples, and replaced the laws which had previously been in force with new statutes. These extraordinary events had been effected without bloodshed in Naples. But the revolution was not completed in Sicily without fighting. Sicily was ripe for revolt from a reason exactly opposite to that which influenced the Neapolitans. The Neapolitans were enraged at Ferdinand's presence among them; the inhabitants of Palermo were annoyed at the departure of the court. The news of the insurrection at Naples reached Palermo on the 14th of July. The populace on the following day rose, assaulted some forts, supplied themselves with the

1 The tricolour of the Carbonari, black, blue, and rose-colour.—*Colchester*, vol. iii. p. 150.

arms which they found in them, broke open the prisons, and liberated the prisoners. The troops endeavoured to restore order; but they were overpowered by the populace, and a provisional Junta was established to conduct the government. The Junta sent a deputation to Naples, but the Neapolitan Government declined to admit them into the town. Events at Palermo had gone so far that they threatened the separation of Sicily and the violent disruption of the kingdom. General William Pepe possessed the chief authority among the army in Naples. His brother was sent with 4000 men to control Palermo. Meeting with little resistance, he arrived before Palermo on the 25th of September. On the 5th of October the terms of capitulation were signed, and on the following day Pepe took possession of the town and proclaimed the Spanish Constitution.[1]

These successive revolutions in Spain, Naples, and Portugal excited consternation among the military empires of Europe. "The events which have occurred in Spain," wrote Count Hardenberg to Lord Castlereagh, "are full of danger for the peace of Europe. The example of an army making a revolution is infinitely deplorable."[2] But, deplorable as the conduct of the Spanish army must have appeared to autocrats, dependent for their authority on their own armies, the revolutions in Portugal and Italy were much more serious. In Portugal the entire army had declared for the Constitution. In Naples a kingdom had "crumbled before a handful of insurgents that half a battalion of good soldiers might have crushed in an instant."[3] It seemed impossible to foresee where the revolution might extend. The military monarchs of the Continent were not disposed to sit quietly by and watch the progress of a flood

The consternation of the great powers at these revolutions.

[1] An account of these events will be found in the *Ann. Reg.*, 1820, Hist., pp. 238-242, and in the declaration by the Austrian Government, in *State Papers*, vol. viii. pp. 1175-1181; a translation of this is in the *Ann. Reg.*, 1820, Chron., pp. 739-745. See also Lord Colchester's Memoirs, vol. iii. pp. 148-217. Lord Colchester was staying at Naples at the time.

[2] "Infiniment funeste."—*Castlereagh Corresp.*, vol. xii. p. 224.

[3] Sir W. A'Court to Lord Castlereagh.—*Castlereagh Corresp.*, vol. xii. p. 279.

which might ultimately overwhelm themselves. Five years before, at Paris, they had bound themselves in a Holy Alliance to be governed by Christian principles in all their political transactions, with a view to perpetuating the peace which they had achieved. The peace which they had achieved was rudely threatened by insurrections which, in their eyes, were unnatural and unchristian; and the time seemed, therefore, to have arrived for concerting measures of protection against states which had placed themselves in an attitude of hostility towards legitimate authority.[1] The military despots of the Continent were unanimous in their desire to check such proceedings as those which had occurred in the Two Sicilies. But the monarchs of Europe felt an unequal interest in these events. A revolution at Naples constituted a comparatively remote danger to the Emperor of Russia or the King of Prussia; but Austria was peculiarly sensitive to any popular commotion in Italy. The arrangements of 1815 had given her a large territorial interest, and had made "the Emperor of Austria the natural guardian and protector of public tranquillity in Italy." The emperor was firmly resolved to fulfil this important duty, and was prepared to use force, if other means were inadequate, for the purpose. Prince Metternich, however, the Austrian minister, was too cautious a diplomatist to assume the entire responsibility of quelling the revolt. He was at considerable pains to explain the policy of his court to the minor German states; he laboured to form a common understanding with the great powers of Europe; he persuaded them all to imitate the example of his own master,

[1] From the circular of the combined powers at Troppau. (*State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 1150.) There is something very unsatisfactory about this document. Its language in the *State Papers* is much less forcible than its language in the *Castlereagh Correspondence*. For instance, in the *State Papers* the powers talk of their right *en concertant des mesures de sûreté*. In the *Castlereagh Correspondence* the words are *en se décidant de prendre des mesures de précaution et de répression*. The *State Papers* talk of a *renversement*; the *Castlereagh Papers* of a *bouleversement* of Government (*Castlereagh Corresp.*, vol. xii. p. 330). Could the despatch have been toned down for the British public before it was published? Other instances will be found later on in this chapter where the despatches published by the Foreign Office differ in a striking way from those which were actually written.

and to decline to receive an envoy from the Court of Naples; he invited the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia to meet the Emperor of Austria at Troppau for the purpose of arranging the measures which the crisis might require; and in the meanwhile he largely strengthened the force which Austria maintained in the northern provinces of Italy.[1]

The Congress at Troppau met at the end of October 1820. The Emperors of Austria and Russia attended it in person. The King of Prussia, who was unwell, was represented by Count Hardenberg. Castlereagh's brother, Lord Stewart, was present, but did not take any immediate part in the proceedings. The conference was short. The three powers were agreed in lamenting the revolutions which had occurred in Spain in March and in Naples in July, and "the catastrophe in Portugal." They were agreed in thinking that the revolution in Naples, which was daily taking deeper root, was causing greater danger to the tranquillity of the neighbouring states than the troubles in Spain and Portugal, and that it was capable of being more easily quelled. They were agreed in refusing to recognise a Government which had been the result of open revolt; and, before resorting to more extreme measures, they were agreed in inviting the King of Sicily to meet them at Laybach. They expressed a hope that France and England would not refuse to join in a proceeding which was in perfect harmony with the treaties to which they had already consented, and which promised to lead to the most pacific and equitable arrangements.[2]

The Congress of Troppau, adjourned to Laybach.

The King of France readily assented to the views of his brother potentates. The British Government, with the dread

[1] See the circular of the Austrian Government to the German States. *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 1130; the message of the King of Sicily, ibid., p. 1131; the despatch of the Sicilian Foreign Minister to the Austrian Government, ibid., p. 1135; and the report of the Sicilian Foreign Minister, ibid., p. 1141. The Courts of Spain, Switzerland, and the Netherlands alone recognised the Neapolitan Government.

[2] See the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian circular, *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 1149.

of the British Parliament before it, refrained from committing itself in any way to the proposal. A British squadron was, however, stationed off Naples; instructions were given to the officer in command of it to protect the king from any danger, and a man-of-war was placed at his disposal to convey him on his way to Laybach.[1] The king himself was nervously anxious to escape from the difficulties of his situation. Ready to make any sacrifice for the sake of his nation, neither his advanced years nor the rigour of the season prevented him from accepting the invitation of the powers. He was prepared to promise that he would do his best to secure to his people the enjoyment of a Constitution which—so he declared—was as liberal as it was wise; and he left his son, the Duke of Calabria, whom he had already made his Vicar-General and *alter ego*, as Regent in his absence. The king probably imagined that these smooth sentences would reconcile his people to his absence. On the day after that on which he penned them the National Parliament told him that he could not go to Laybach except to defend the Constitution which he had deigned to acknowledge. The king, finding that the Parliament was firm, declared that he had never had any intention of violating the Constitution which he had sworn to maintain; and with this declaration was permitted to proceed to Laybach.[2] On the 13th of December he embarked on board the "Vengeur," an English man-of-war. An untoward accident, which in another age would have been regarded as ominous, interrupted his journey at the outset. Crossing on opposite tacks in a dark and squally night, the *Vengeur* fouled the *Revolutionnaire*, another English man-of-war; and both vessels, much disabled, were compelled to run for Baiæ.[3] The accident, however, did not cause any very serious delay. The *Vengeur* was able to proceed to Leghorn on the 15th of December; and the unhappy old monarch, leaving

[1] Lord Colchester says, on Sir W. A'Court's authority, that the man-of-war would have been at the king's disposal *if his departure was resisted* (vol. iii. p. 184). A very clear proof of the real views of the English Government.

[2] *State Papers*, vol. viii. pp. 1151-1160, 1179.

[3] Colchester, vol. iii. p. 188.

the sea, proceeded by land to meet his powerful brother potentates at Laybach.

The king on his arrival at Laybach found it impossible to fulfil his promise to his Parliament. His Majesty was told that the allied sovereigns were resolved to abolish a Constitution which a faction with neither title nor power had imposed on the kingdom of the Two Sicilies by the most criminal proceedings; that they regarded this Constitution as incompatible with the security of neighbouring states and with the peace of Europe; and that, if no other means were available for repealing it, they must have recourse to war. The king saw, or fancied that he saw, that it was hopeless to attempt to alter this resolution, and he was persuaded to write to the Regent to this effect, and to renounce the Constitution.[1]

The King of Naples at Laybach.

The king, in his letter to the Regent, did not apparently think it necessary to explain that he had renounced at Laybach the Constitution which, at Naples, he had sworn to maintain. His reticence on this point did not, however, produce much inconvenience. The king's letter to the Regent was followed by explanatory circulars to the Austrian, Prussian, and Russian ministers at Naples. The first of these circulars contained an elaborate history of the proceedings at Laybach, and directed the ministers to explain to the Regent the calamities which would inevitably follow should he refuse to obey the paternal voice of his king. The second of them explained that the temporary occupation of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies by an armed force was judged indispensably necessary as a guarantee for the future.[2] The invasion of Naples had, indeed, been already decided on. Throughout the autumn Austria had been steadily strengthening the forces which she maintained in her Italian provinces. Her army, at the commencement of February 1821, was instructed to advance.[3] His Imperial Majesty could not

The Austrian advance on Naples.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. viii. pp. 1163, 1179.
[2] Ibid., pp. 1165–1172.
[3] Ibid., p. 1180.

bring himself to suppose that any serious resistance would be made to his troops. None but the public enemies to the state or the incurable partisans of a ruinous system could misconstrue the duty imposed on every loyal soldier and every patriotic citizen.

In one respect the Emperor of Austria judged accurately. His army met with no resistance which was worth the name. Patriotic speeches were, indeed, made in the Neapolitan Cortes; patriotic laws were rapidly passed. The idea of submission was unanimously scouted, and resistance to the death was the watchword of every Neapolitan. Had the action of the Revolutionary Government been as valorous as its words, had its preparations been as complete as they appeared on paper, it is possible that the Austrian army might have met with unexpected difficulties. Acting at a great distance from the base of its operations, marching through a mountainous and inhospitable country, surrounded by a hostile and active population, its progress might have been impeded at every river which it crossed and at every pass through which it wound. The Neapolitans, however, mistook the bravery of words for the bravery of action. They talked of the levies which they had made and the levies which they had ordered; but these troops, if they ever existed except on paper, never reached the scene of active operations. Pepe, who had been the soul of the revolution, made a slight stand at Rieti on the 7th of March. After an indecisive skirmish his flank was turned, and he was compelled to retire. His men were not steady enough to conduct a retrograde movement. They fell into confusion and dispersed among the mountains. The Neapolitans did not attempt any further resistance to the Austrian arms. Within a fortnight of the skirmish at Rieti a convention was signed between the Austrian and Sicilian armies at Capua. The war had been commenced with protests that death was preferable to concession; it was concluded within the month by unqualified submission.[1]

The Neapolitan defence collapses.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1821, Hist., pp. 222–232. *State Papers*, vol. viii. pp. 1192–1196.

Austria, however, had not stamped out the seeds of revolution in Italy by occupying the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Piedmont was nearly connected with Naples. The King of Piedmont was married to a daughter of the King of Naples. The secret society which had its origin in the South had its branches in the North of Italy. For some months past the Neapolitans had been hoping that an insurrection in Piedmont would make a seasonable diversion in their own favour. Revolutionary views had made progress among the Piedmontese troops; and there was reason to hope that the Sardinian army might imitate the example which had been set them by the Neapolitan soldiery.

Revolution in Piedmont,

For some months, however, nothing was done. On the 10th of March, three days after the Austrian victory of Rieti, a portion of the garrison at Alessandria raised the tricolour, occupied the citadel, and proclaimed the Spanish Constitution. On Monday, the 12th, some students and citizens succeeded in entering the cathedral at Turin, and, mingling with the garrison, raised the cry of *Viva la Constituzione di Spagna!* The populace, seeing that the citadel was forced, joined in the shout, and persuaded the Prince de Carignano to mediate between the king and his people. The Prince complied; but the king, who was made of stouter stuff than his brother of the Two Sicilies, refused to give way. Powerless, however, to resist, on the following morning he abdicated his throne and proceeded to Nice. A provisional Junta was formed under the regency of the Prince de Carignano. But these events had hardly occurred before serious news reached the Piedmontese. The Neapolitan troops were scattered like sheep at the approach of the Austrians; the allied sovereigns were still sitting in congress at Laybach; an army was being hurriedly collected on the frontier of Piedmont. The revolution had never taken the deep root in Piedmont which it had gained in Naples. The people saw the departure of their king with regret; they looked towards the august congress at Laybach with consternation. On the 8th of April, Count Bubna, the Austrian commander-in-chief, crossed the

which is crushed.

Ticino and marched towards Vercelli. A brief and almost bloodless skirmish ensured him a victory. The provisional Junta was dissolved on the 9th of April. Count Bubna made his entrance into Alessandria on the 11th. The Austrians had gained an even easier victory in Piedmont than that which they had achieved in Naples. Revolution had been effectually crushed both in the north and in the south of the Italian peninsula; and armies of occupation, both in Piedmont and Naples, made any renewed attempts of a similar character impracticable.[1]

The allied sovereigns watched these events from the council-chamber at Laybach. The complete success of the Austrian troops, however, made the continuance of their council unnecessary. "The legitimate authority" had been "restored; the factions" had "been dispersed; the Neapolitan people" had been "delivered from the tyranny of those impudent impostors, who, deluding them with the dreams of false liberty," had "in reality inflicted upon them the most bitter vexations." "This important restoration had been completed by the counsels and the acts of the allied sovereigns." During the progress of these transactions the true character of "that vast conspiracy which has so long existed against all established authority" had been revealed. "The leaders of this impious league, indifferent as to what may result from the general destruction they meditate, aim merely at the fundamental bases of society. The allied sovereigns could not fail to perceive that there was only one barrier to oppose to this devastating torrent. To preserve what is legally established—such was, as it ought to be, the invariable principle of their policy. Useful or necessary changes in legislation and in the administration of states ought only to emanate from the free-will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power. Penetrated with this eternal truth," the sovereigns had met at Troppau, had adjourned to Laybach, and had crushed revolution in Naples and in Piedmont. "Penetrated with this eternal truth," they communicated their sentiments to their

The circular of the Allies from Laybach.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1821, Hist., pp. 235–244.

representatives in every foreign court. "Penetrated with this eternal truth," they returned to their own dominions to apply the great principles on which they had agreed. But their separation was to be only temporary. They had still to determine the period during which it might be necessary to continue the enforced occupation of the countries which they had crushed into submission, and thus "to consolidate the tranquillity of the Peninsula." The same circular, therefore, which announced the close of the Congress stated that it would reassemble during the following year.[1]

Indignation in Britain at the circular of the allies.

The proceedings of the allied sovereigns at Troppau and Laybach had made the true object of the Holy Alliance manifest for the first time. It had been authoritatively declared that "useful or necessary changes in legislation and in the administration of states ought only to emanate from the free-will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God had rendered responsible for power." And the declaration had unfortunately been made by sovereigns who had both the will and the strength to apply it. No such prodigious blow had ever previously been struck at the struggling liberties of the civilised world. Nearly every useful or necessary change which had hitherto been made either in legislation or administration had been wrung from reluctant sovereigns by the perseverance of a determined people. The United Kingdom was the last country in Europe which would have consented to recognise the novel doctrine. Its whole history, from the days of the Great Charter to the defeat of the Government on the reform of the Criminal Laws, had been one eloquent protest against it. Unhappily, however, the people of this kingdom believed that the principle which the allied sovereigns had laid down was less distasteful to their ministers than to themselves. They thought that British ambassadors should not have been present either at Troppau or at Laybach; they thought that the British fleet

[1] *State Papers*, vol. viii. pp. 1199–1205. *Ann. Reg.*, 1821, Chron., pp. 599–605. The decision of the allied sovereigns has been given in the exact words of their memorable circular.

should not have been stationed in the Bay of Naples while an Austrian army was marching southwards from the Po; and that the British ministry should not have contented themselves with cold declarations of neutrality, but should have energetically protested against the interference of the allied sovereigns in the internal affairs of an independent and friendly kingdom.

The language, indeed, which Castlereagh held in public was tolerably satisfactory. The circular of the allied sovereigns from Troppau was issued on the 8th of December 1820. Castlereagh replied to it on the 19th of January 1821. He "should not have felt it necessary," he began his reply by stating, "to have made any communication to the British representatives at foreign courts, had it not been for a circular communication addressed by the Courts of Austria, Prussia, and Russia to their several missions, which, if not adverted to, might convey very erroneous impressions of the past as well as of the present sentiments of the British Government." It had become, therefore, necessary to state that the system of measures proposed by the allied powers was "in direct repugnance to the fundamental laws" of the United Kingdom. "But, even if this decisive objection did not exist, the British Government would, nevertheless, regard the principles on which these measures rest to be such as could not be safely admitted as a system of international law. Their adoption would inevitably sanction, and, in the hands of less beneficent monarchs, might hereafter lead to a much more frequent and extensive interference in the internal transactions of states than they are persuaded is intended. With respect to the particular case of Naples, the British Government did not hesitate to express their strong disapprobation of the mode and circumstances under which that revolution was understood to have been effected; but they, at the same time, expressly declared to the several allied courts that they should not consider themselves called upon or justified to advise an interference on the part of this country. They fully admitted, however, that other European states might feel themselves differently circumstanced; and they professed that it was not their pur-

Castlereagh replies to it;

pose to interfere with the course which such states might think fit to adopt with a view to their security; provided only that they were ready to give every reasonable assurance that their views were not directed to purposes of aggrandisement subversive of the territorial system of Europe as established by the late treaties."[1]

A mild protest of this character would not, in any circumstances, have stopped the march of the Austrian troops across the Po. But the country thought the protest, mild as it was, the least unsatisfactory feature in the conduct of the ministry. It was observed that the British ministry had waited for more than a month before it had thought it necessary to notice the circular of the allied powers; and that its reply had followed very closely on the unauthorised publication of an incorrect copy of the circular in a German newspaper.[2] It was inferred, therefore, that the protest would never have been made at all if it had not been for this circumstance. It was known, too, that the Neapolitans resented the presence of a British squadron at Naples, and that they had actually thought it necessary to demand an explanation on the subject.[3] The public was, in consequence, disturbed by grave suspicions and apprehensions; and there is, unfortunately, no doubt that they had good reasons for their uneasiness. Mild as was the protest which the minister publicly made against the circular of the allied powers, his private language directly encouraged the forcible occupation of Naples by the troops of Austria.

but his reply fails to satisfy the country,

Lord Castlereagh was opposed to the joint action of Russia, Austria, and Prussia in Italy, but he was in favour of Austrian interference. "I think," he wrote to his brother, "Metternich has essentially weakened his position by making it an European instead of an Austrian question." "We desire," he wrote on another occasion, "to leave Austria unembarrassed in her course, but we must claim for ourselves the same freedom of action. It is for the interest of Austria that such should

[1] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 1161. [2] Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. i. p. 40.
[3] *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 1172.

be our position. It enables us in our Parliament to consider and consequently to respect her measures as the acts of an independent state—a doctrine which we could not maintain if we had rendered ourselves by a previous concert parties to those acts; and it places us in a situation to do justice in argument to the considerations which may influence her counsels, without, in doing so, being thrown upon the defence of our own conduct."[1] It would have been difficult for a Foreign Secretary to have expressed more clearly his perfect approval of Austrian interference in Naples. But another member of the Cabinet went much further than Castlereagh. Wellington's influence on the Continent exceeded that of any other Englishman; and Wellington, while the Austrian troops were marching upon Naples, thought it necessary to communicate his sentiments to the Austrian ambassador, "in the capacity of an individual who was very much interested in the glory and in the happiness of the allied powers." Wellington had nothing to say against the Austrian occupation of Naples. He was merely disturbed by understanding that it was intended only to occupy it for three years. It ought, he thought, to have been stipulated that the occupation should last for seven years. It would, in that case, have been easy to have withdrawn the troops in three or five years; but, having once arranged for only a three years' occupation, it would be difficult to continue the occupation for five or seven years, however necessary such a continuance might prove.[2]

[1] Lord Castlereagh to Lord Stewart, 16th of September 1820, and of January 1821.—*Castlereagh Corresp.*, vol. xii. pp. 317, 341.

[2] Duke of Wellington to Prince Esterhazy (Wellington Supplementary *Despatches*, vol. i. p. 160). Greville says, on the authority of Lord George Bentinck, that some of Lord Londonderry's "letters were written expressly to throw dust in the eyes of Parliament." This was his own expression to his brother, Lord Stewart, and in using it he added, "You will understand this, and know what to say to Metternich." "In fact, while obliged to pretend to disapprove of the Continental system of the Holy Alliance, he secretly gave Metternich every assurance of his private concurrence, and it was not till long after Mr. Canning's accession that Metternich could be persuaded of his sincerity in opposing their views, always fancying that he was obliged to act a part, as his predecessor had done, to keep the House of Commons quiet."—*Greville*, vol. i. p. 105.

Fortunately for the ministry, the private correspondence of Castlereagh and Wellington was not published till long after the Parliament of 1820 had been dissolved. The Opposition had nothing but the official despatches before it, and these despatches were not open to any very hostile criticism. The proceedings of the allied monarchs, indeed, provoked some strong expressions from leading Liberals in both Houses of Parliament. An attempt was made, with some success, to show that the British ministry had participated in the designs of the allies at Troppau. The circular from the allies had expressed a confident hope that England would join the other powers in proceedings which were declared to be "in perfect harmony with the treaties to which she had already consented." What were the treaties to which England had consented which could justify so confident an expression from the allied powers? Castlereagh, in his reply, had himself declared that the system on which the allies proposed to act was "in direct repugnance to the fundamental laws" of the United Kingdom. Was it possible that the ministry had been either so weak or so careless as to become a party to a treaty either directly or indirectly repugnant to the fundamental laws of this country?

and is attacked in Parliament.

One subsidiary incident justified the apprehension that such might be the case. The allied monarchs had broken off all diplomatic negotiations with the revolutionary Government at Naples, and the British ministry had declined to receive Monsieur Cimitelli, the Neapolitan envoy to this country. How, it was asked, was it possible to justify a refusal to recognise the minister of a friendly power? The presence of the British fleet at Naples moreover was universally regarded as a direct menace to the revolutionary Government. A letter to the Neapolitan Government from Sir W. A'Court, the British minister at Naples, was quoted to prove that the fleet was ready to interfere in the event of the royal family being exposed either to insult or danger. Such a threat, it was argued, might, in certain contingencies, involve the

bombardment of Naples by the British fleet. These and other matters connected with the affairs of Italy were over and over again discussed in Parliament during the session of 1821. The Opposition again and again returned to the attack, but the ministry was steadily supported by considerable majorities. A motion for explanatory papers was rejected in the House of Lords without a division, and in the House of Commons by a large majority.[1] In the subsequent debates the ministry was always attended with a similar success.[2] Any other result would indeed have been impossible. The Opposition had only imperfect information at its disposal. It had the disadvantage of attacking a foregone conclusion. Nothing that Parliament could do could arrest the progress of the Austrian armies or inspire Pepe's miserable levies with military discipline. British influence in 1820 might possibly have had a salutary effect on the counsels of the allied monarchs. It was plain in 1821 that the time for exerting it was over.

Attention is diverted from Italy to Portugal.

The march of the Austrian troops on Naples was, in fact, forgotten in the presence of a greater danger. It was known at the beginning of May that Russia was moving her troops towards her frontier; and an ominous rumour ran through Europe that she was contemplating interference in the affairs of Spain and Portugal. Castlereagh was able to a certain extent to dispel this report. Russia, he assured the House of Commons, had only mobilised her army to support Austria in Italy; and the success of the Austrian arms had rendered the mobilisation unnecessary, and had arrested the westward march of the Russian troops.[3] Though, however, the march of the Russian army had been arrested, the apprehensions of a possible interference in Spain were not dispelled. The danger of intervention was, in fact, becoming continually greater. Constitutional government had

[1] *Hansard*, New Series, vol. iv. pp. 742–795, 838–894. The majority was 194 votes to 125.

[2] For the debates see Ibid., vol. iv. pp. 1039, 1350, 1468; and vol. v. pp. 1222, 1254.

[3] Ibid., vol. v. p. 538.

been established both in Spain and Portugal; but the institution of constitutional government had not had the effect of preserving order. At the end of March 1821 the inhabitants of Lisbon resolved on a general illumination "in celebration of the oath to the basis of the new Constitution." The various foreign ministers in Lisbon agreed that the illumination was no affair of theirs, and declined, accordingly, to illuminate their houses. The populace displayed their displeasure by breaking the windows of the delegate of the Court of Rome. The Regency promptly apologised for "so disagreeable an event;" and the affair was momentarily forgotten. Another illumination was, however, ordered for the 28th of April. Patrols were placed in front of all the foreign embassies. Through some mistake, however, the patrol in front of the Austrian embassy was withdrawn. "The passing populace, irritated at seeing the house without lights," broke the windows; and the Austrian ambassador, "to avoid more serious insults," allowed the embassy to be illuminated. The Austrian ambassador immediately sent a special courier to Prince Metternich with an account of the transaction. Metternich concluded that a town which did not respect "the inviolability" of an Austrian embassy was no fit place for the residence of an Austrian ambassador, and desired the envoy to insist on complete satisfaction, and on failing to receive it, to demand his passports and to leave Lisbon. The Russian ambassador, following the example of the Austrian envoy, suspended his functions and withdrew from the court; and Prussia refused to receive at Berlin the Portuguese chargé d'affairs.[1]

The Austrian and Russian ministers withdrawn from Lisbon.

The three allied monarchs had, therefore, suspended diplomatic relations with Portugal; but they took no active measures towards intervention in that country. Geographical and political considerations made it impossible for them to do so. Geographically, Portugal was safe from an attack by land. Politically, she was closely allied with the only great European maritime power. However much the British

[1] *State Papers*, vol. viii. pp. 772–788; and vol. ix. p. 858.

ministry might be opposed to the spread of revolutionary principles, it was hopeless to expect that any British minister would allow a foreign army to land on the shores of Portugal. The traditions of the Foreign Office and the feelings of the British nation would have compelled him to resist any intervention in the affairs of that kingdom. In Portugal, then, no immediate danger of foreign interference was to be apprehended. But the case of Spain was very different. It is fortunately unnecessary, in a history of England, to trace the obscure events which followed the institution of constitutional government in Spain. The violent proceedings of the Cortes naturally created a strong reaction. The priests, deprived of their property, exerted all their influence with the populace to injure the new Government. The people, eminently superstitious, and deprived of the alms which they had previously received from the priests, were easily persuaded to take part with their spiritual advisers. The nobility fancied the confiscation of the property of the Church might eventually lead to the forfeiture of their own estates. The Cortes, in short, made enemies among every section of the Spanish nation. Disturbances, encouraged by the priests, broke out in the provinces, and organised bands of robbers infested the country and made peace and good government impracticable. Throughout the whole of 1821 and during the first six months of 1822, Spain was in a state of chronic disturbance. A king without power and without friends; a treasury without money; a Cortes without authority; a populace without order—such was the condition to which Spain had fallen—the same Spain which two centuries before had been universally regarded as the greatest empire in the world.

Reaction in Spain against the revolution in 1820.

Disturbances in Spain.

The disturbances became gradually more serious during the first six months of 1822. The armies of the faith—as the absolutist forces in the North of Spain were styled—gradually swelled from guerilla bands into formidable bodies. In June they were able to seize the forts of Seo d'Urgel, and they followed up their success by installing a regular Regency. The

unfortunate empire was now the seat of civil war; and both parties to the warfare fought in the same name. In the North of Spain the Regency of Urgel raised the standard for a "captive" monarch, "deprived of the means of promoting the good of his people, or of governing them according to the ancient laws, constitution, privileges, and customs of the Peninsula, dictated by a wise, free, and impartial Cortes." The same monarch in Madrid was made to declare that the Absolutists "in vain invoke the name of a king, who only hears them with sentiments of the liveliest indignation; in vain pretend to defend the privileges of him who is ambitious of no other title than that of Constitutional monarch of the Spains."

which lead to civil war.

In the meanwhile the distracted country, torn by civil warfare, was exposed to a new danger. In the autumn of 1821 a terrible fever broke out in Eastern Spain. In Tortosa 7000 persons died before the 26th of September, and the disease continued to carry off the population at the rate of seventy persons a day. At the end of September the mortality at Barcelona was at the frightful rate of 350 daily. Barcelona is situated at no great distance from the French frontier, and the Government of France was naturally alarmed at the proximity of the plague. Five physicians, specially despatched from Paris, declared the fever to be contagious, and recommended that the district should be completely isolated. In accordance with their recommendation, the French ministry drew a *cordon sanitaire* round the Spanish frontier. The plague gradually died away with the colder weather of the winter, but the French ministry did not withdraw the troops who composed the *cordon sanitaire*. The force was gradually strengthened till it was raised into an army of observation comprising a hundred thousand men.

The fever of 1821.

France establishes a *cordon sanitaire*, which is gradually developed into an army of observation.

An important change in the French Government was partly responsible for the continuance of this formidable force. The elections of 1819 gave the Liberal party a considerable influence in the French Chamber. Louis XVIII., alarmed at the

prospect, made Monsieur Decazes minister, and instructed him to prepare a radical alteration in the electoral law. The Liberals, thereupon, entered upon opposition, and recommended the most reprehensible proceedings as justifiable means for procuring their object. A deplorable event emphasised their recommendations in an unfortunate manner. The Duc de Berri was assassinated by Louvel at the Opera. The general horror at the catastrophe produced a violent reaction in favour of the Royalists. Chateaubriand, the most brilliant of their writers, openly declared that the ministers who had laboured in the cause of democracy shared the guilt of the assassin who struck the blow. Amidst the universal indignation thus occasioned the ministry of M. Decazes fell, and was replaced by a moderate Administration under the Duc de Richelieu. Richelieu, however, proved too moderate for the Absolutists, and was soon afterwards compelled to resign. Louis XVIII., completely under the influence of Monsieur, his brother, and his favourite, Madame du Cayla, hardly made an effort to avert the fall of his minister. A purely Royalist ministry was formed, under M. de Villèle, the most distinguished member of the Royalist party.

M. de Villèle becomes minister.

A rapid succession of events in France had transferred the power of the State from the hands of moderate politicians to those of extreme Royalists. Extreme Royalists were certain to regard the proceedings of the Spanish Cortes as a greater danger to France than the Barcelona fever. Disturbances in Paris and the provinces gave some colour to the apprehensions in which they indulged. The Carbonari had their branches in France. Pepe and Riego found French imitators at Belfort, Thouars, and La Rochelle. The insurrections attempted at these places were easily put down; but they gave the Royalists an excuse for proceedings on which they could not otherwise have ventured. The arms of Austria had crushed out the insurrection in Piedmont. M. de Villèle's hundred thousand men vigilantly watched the far more serious disturbances across the Spanish frontier. Apprehensions had always existed of a French intervention

in Spain. The success of Austria in Italy confirmed these fears, which the constant strengthening of the French armies in the South of France would alone have justified.[1]

In the west of Europe, then, France, under the temporary control of extreme Royalists, was jealously watching the progress of civil war in Spain. A still more formidable evil threatened the peace of Eastern Europe. The once brilliant empire of the Ottoman Turks was apparently the victim of a slow and inevitable decay. Few things are more remarkable in the history of the world than the brilliant achievements of the House of Othman, the son of Ertoghul, the Right-hearted Man. For rather more than three hundred years no power in Europe seemed capable of withstanding the onslaught of the Ottoman race. Every successive ruler extended the boundaries of Ottoman rule. The whole of Asia Minor, the whole of Egypt, the whole of South-Eastern Europe acknowledged the sovereignty of the Crescent. Solyman the Magnificent pushed his conquests to the walls of Vienna, and the chief bulwark of Christendom tottered before the attack of the Ottoman chivalry. The peril, however, was averted; the course of invasion was stayed; and, with the death of Solyman, the rising tide of Mussulman conquest began for the first time to recede. Solyman, the tenth of his race, was succeeded in 1566 by Selim the Sot; and, with the accession of Selim, the magnificent empire of the Ottomans showed symptoms of decay. But the decay was like the decay of the oak, whose death is almost as protracted as its life. None of the ten sultans who succeeded Solyman the Magnificent displayed the smallest capacity for rule. Their united reigns hardly occupied a third of the period during which their ten predecessors had governed Turkey. If Turkey had been left to the mercies of the race of Othman, the Mohammedan power must inevitably have been crushed.

The Ottoman Empire.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1821, Hist., pp. 170–206, and (1822) Hist., 231–256. *State Papers*, vol. ix. pp. 963, 1006. Alison, vol. ii. pp. 263–375, 533–564. Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. i. p. 146. Duke of Wellington's Supplementary *Despatches*, vol. i. p. 288.

Fortunately or unfortunately, however, the impotent sultans placed their destinies in the hands of competent advisers, and Turkey again passed through a short period of brilliant success. The sap rose to the dry branches of the dying tree; and Vienna, once more surrounded by the legions of the Crescent, owed her immunity from capture to the timely succour of a valiant Pole. The Crescent rolled back before the Cross, and was destined never to return. Hungary was recovered; the southern boundaries of Poland were enlarged; and peace was finally concluded at Carlowitz between emperor and sultan in the last years of the seventeenth century.

Austria had hitherto been the hereditary enemy of Turkey. A much more formidable foe was, however, gradually rising into power in the North. The conquests of Ivan the Terrible had extended the boundaries of Russia to the Caucasus, and led to the first conflict between Russia and Turkey. Turkey found, as other nations subsequently discovered, that Russia was almost impregnable; but Russia, powerless in attack, was unable to retaliate on the invader. Russia, under Peter the Great, shared in the Austrian war which was terminated by the peace of Carlowitz. She consented at Carlowitz to a two years' armistice. At the conclusion of the armistice she was, however, in no condition to renew the struggle. She was contending with Sweden for the empire of the North; and, until the defeat of Charles XII. at Pultowa, she had neither leisure nor means for renewing her contest with the Turks. Immediately after Pultowa, however, war again broke out. Peter the Great crossed the Pruth and marched down the banks of that river to the Danube. The Turks, gaining intelligence of his movements, blockaded the Russian army; and a treaty, disastrous to Russia, alone saved the Czar the humiliation of capitulating. For the first time in her history Russia had crossed the Pruth, and the passage had been followed by an almost irretrievable disaster. The disaster, however, did not diminish the desire of the Russian Government to extend the boundaries of their empire at the expense of the Ottomans. The war, which had

Its first collision with Russia.

been concluded on the Pruth in 1711, again broke out in 1736. In 1737 Austria joined with Russia in an alliance against the Turk. But the Imperial allies gained little from their alliance. Russia achieved some successes at a fearful cost of life and treasure. Austria, decisively defeated, was glad to sue for peace. The sap had again risen to the withered branches of the decaying tree. With a vigour, which reminded Europe of her previous history, Turkey rolled back invasion from her borders, and was able to conclude a short and bloody war with the honourable Peace of Belgrade.

The Peace of Belgrade won for Turkey a respite of thirty years. From 1739 to 1768 she was at peace with Russia. In 1768 the war broke out which was ultimately terminated in 1774 by the memorable Peace of Kainardji, which gave Russia the important fortresses of Kertch and Yenikale, in the Crimea, the city of Azoph, and the castle of Kilburn. Turkey acknowledged that she received back from Russia the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and that Russia had the right to interfere in the interests of the inhabitants of these provinces. Turkey promised to afford a constant protection to its Christian subjects; to erect a new Greek church in Constantinople; and to place it, and the ministers who officiated at it, under the specific protection of the Russian empire. This humiliating treaty, which gave Russia a distinct right to intervene in the internal affairs of Turkey, did not even secure the Porte twenty years of peace. In 1778, four years after the Peace of Kainardji, a second grandson was born to the Empress of Russia. The Empress called the boy Constantine; she caused him to be instructed from his cradle in the Greek language, and openly designed him for an imperial throne at Constantinople. Long before the boy came of age Catherine extended the southern boundaries of her empire. In defiance of treaty, she annexed the Crimea and the adjacent Tartar territory in 1783. The Porte, indignant at this act of robbery, was too weak to interfere. England, exhausted with the American war, was in no humour for embarking on a new struggle; and the Empress

Its history from the Peace of Belgrade to the Peace of Jassy.

was enabled to carry out her policy of annexation. For four years after the annexation of the Crimea, Catherine almost openly continued her preparations for attacking Turkey. Irritated beyond the power of endurance, the Porte was goaded in 1787 into a declaration of war. The long war which ensued was again disastrous to the Mussulman power. The Russians had the advantage of Suwarrow's iron genius. For a short period they had the active assistance of Austria. By the Peace of Jassy, in 1792, the boundary of Russia was extended to the Dniester, and Russia was recognised as the Protector of the Caucasian provinces of the Porte.

The Peace of Jassy was the natural corollary to the Peace of Kainardji. The next danger to which the Turkish Empire was exposed did not come from Russia. Napoleon, dreaming of Eastern conquest, embarked on his memorable campaign in Egypt, and carried his arms to Acre. Nelson and Sidney Smith compelled him to desist from his enterprise. But, though the enterprise had proved unsuccessful, the task of opposing it had increased the exhaustion of the decaying empire, which was apparently withering away. For the first time in history the Russian and the Turk had been fighting side by side against the French. The influence of Russia induced the Turks to concede a partial independence to the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and to pledge themselves not to remove the reigning Hospodars of those provinces without previous reference to St. Petersburg. Four years afterwards the neighbouring province of Servia acquired a similar independence under its intrepid leader, Kara George. Acting on the advice of France, the Porte, in 1806, deposed the reigning Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, and war, in consequence, again broke out between Russia and Turkey. The war, which was temporarily interrupted by the armistice of Slobosia in 1807, was finally concluded by the Peace of Bucharest in 1812. The boundaries of Russia were again advanced, and the Pruth was made the frontier between the two empires.

Its history to the Peace of Bucharest.

In 1812, when the Peace of Bucharest was signed, Mah-

moud II. had been for four years Sultan of Turkey. When he commenced his reign his empire was exposed to foreign war. Half its provinces were in insurrection, and no dependence could be placed on the Janissaries, the formidable body of men by whose valour the Ottoman Empire had in previous generations been sustained. Mehemet Ali had stamped out rebellion in Egypt by a horrible massacre of the Mamelukes; but Mehemet Ali by his victory had made himself almost independent of the Porte. Ali Pacha, obtaining the pachalic of Tricala in Thessaly, had since acquired an independent territory in Albania, and stood at bay against the Sultan. The mighty empire of the Ottomans was apparently crumbling into fragments; and the Greeks, who had never tolerated their subjection, seized the opportunity for asserting their independence. A secret confederacy, the Hetæria, formed at the close of the preceding century, afforded them the means of organisation. Open warfare between the Porte and Ali Pacha gave them an opportunity. In 1821 Ipsilanti, a Greek by birth, but a Russian officer, crossed the Pruth into Moldavia and called on his countrymen to rise. Ipsilanti's proceedings were disavowed by the Emperor of Russia, and he himself was defeated at Dragascan. But an insurrection contemporaneously broke out in every part of Greece. Candia refused tribute; the islands threw off the Turkish yoke; the inhabitants of the Morea took up arms; Greek vessels, manned by experienced sailors acquainted with every creek on the coast, eventually drove the Mussulman navy from the Archipelago. Bands of Greek insurgents, spreading through the country, surrounded the small forces which Turkey had stationed in the Morea, and compelled some of the places which were garrisoned by the Ottomans to capitulate.[1]

The Greek insurrection.

The War of Greek Independence was characterised from the outset by brutal outrages. The Greek had no pity for the Turk; and the Turk avenged himself with merciless fero-

[1] In the previous account of Turkey I have mainly followed Sir E. Creasy's interesting history of the Ottoman Turks. The account of the Greek insurrection will be found in *Ann. Reg.*, 1821, Hist., pp. 245–257.

city on the Greek. Suspicion fell even on those Greeks who were not in arms; the Greek churches in Constantinople were demolished, and the venerable Patriarch of the Greek Church was hanged. The superiority of the Greeks at sea threatened to deprive Constantinople of its supply of corn from the Mediterranean, and orders were issued to prevent the exportation of grain from the Dardanelles. These proceedings on the part of Turkey were little short of a direct challenge to Russia; the stoppage of the traffic of the Dardanelles annihilated the grain trade of Odessa; the execution of the Greek Patriarch was a violation of the Treaty of Kainardji. Russian merchants affected to believe that their lives and property were insecure. The Russian ambassador, Baron Strogonoff, formally remonstrated. Acting on instructions from St. Petersburg, he demanded, on the 18th July 1821, that the churches which had been destroyed or plundered should be immediately restored; that the Christian religion should be guaranteed against future outrage; that a distinction should be drawn between the innocent and the guilty; that the Greeks, on the faith of it, should be invited to submit within a given time; that the Russian Government should, in the spirit of the Treaties of Kainardji and Bucharest, be a party to the pacification of Wallachia and Moldavia; and that a reply should be given to these demands within eight days.[1] No reply came within the specified period, and Strogonoff demanded his passports and left for Odessa.[2] War, however, did not immediately ensue. The Czar had hitherto been alternately swayed by the rival counsels of two of his ministers, Count Capo d'Istrias and Count Nesselrode. Capo d'Istrias had persuaded himself that immediate war was desirable. Nesselrode was at the head of the party which desired peace. For a time it seemed impossible to predict whether the war party or the peace party would prevail with the Czar. Strogonoff returned. War seemed imminent;

Russia presents an ultimatum.

The Russian Ambassador withdraws from Constantinople.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. viii. pp. 1251–1257.
[2] Ibid., p. 1258. *Ann. Reg.*, 1821, Hist., p. 252.

and the Czar suddenly resolved on a policy of peace. Capo d'Istrias was dismissed; Nesselrode was taken into closer confidence than ever; and the other Christian embassies at Constantinople were invited to induce the Porte to comply with the demands of Russia.[1]

The Czar had shrunk from the responsibility of declaring war, because a war for the liberation of Greece would have been inconsistent with the policy which he was pursuing in every other part of Europe. Alexander was the soul of the Holy Alliance. The principle which the members of the Alliance had just laid down was, that "useful or necessary changes in legislation and in the administration of states ought only to emanate from the free-will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God has made responsible for power." Tried by this principle, the Greek insurrection was as indefensible as the revolutions in Spain, Portugal, and Italy. The mission of the Czar was to preserve legitimate authority, and Alexander could not persuade himself to strike a blow at the legitimate authority of even his hereditary foe. The nervous apprehensions of the Emperor were, moreover, encouraged by the British Foreign Office. Castlereagh was anxious to prevent the intervention of Russia in Turkey, and he thought that his best chance of doing so lay in confounding insurrection with revolution. An English Radical, a Sicilian rebel, or a Spanish Constitutionalist should, in his judgment, be all included in the same category. He was incapable of distinguishing between the Hetæria of Greece, the Carbonari of Naples, the Comuneros of Spain, and the Radicals of England. "The events in Turkey," he wrote to the Czar, "form a branch of that organised spirit of insurrection which is systematically propagating itself throughout Europe, and which explodes whenever the hand of the governing power, from whatever cause, is enfeebled." "With all deference," he added in an explanatory letter to the British minister at St. Petersburg, "the Emperor of Russia ought to disavow the Greek cause, as one essentially revolutionary."[2]

The policy of the Czar.

[1] Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. i. p. 190.

[2] *Castlereagh Corresp.*, vol. xii. pp. 404, 445.

Castlereagh's letter was dated the 16th of July 1821. On the 18th of July Strogonoff presented his ultimatum to the Porte. Before the conclusion of the month he was waiting a favourable wind to carry him to Odessa. The Czar, alternately meditating on peace and war, received the advice of the British minister before he learned the abrupt departure of his ambassador. Peaceful counsels for the time prevailed, and a slow negotiation was commenced. The Porte, on its part, was desirous of gaining time; and the Czar, resolved on peace, was unable to push matters to a rapid issue. Delay proved favourable to the Porte. A war commenced by some Persian princes threatened the loss of its Asiatic provinces.[1] The Shah disavowed the proceedings of his subjects, and relieved the Porte from its apprehensions in that quarter. Ali Pacha, the lion-hearted rebel of Janina, driven to his last fortress, was defeated and slain in January 1822.[2] In July of the same year the Porte consented to remove one cause of difference between Russia and itself by appointing two Christians to the government of Wallachia and Moldavia.[3] The seasonable delay had improved the position of the Porte in all these matters. In Greece, however, and in the Greek islands, the efforts of the Ottomans were powerless to crush the rebellion. The Greeks maintained an ascendancy at sea, and declared any Greek port in the occupation of the enemy in a state of blockade,[4] and the Porte was compelled by this bold challenge to take active measures for asserting its authority.

The policy of the Porte.

The little island of Scio, the ancient Chios, lies near the shore of Asia Minor. It was, therefore, remote from the sway of the provisional Government of Greece; it was open to an attack from the Asiatic territories of the Porte. More than twenty-two centuries before Chios had been exposed to the desolating anger of the Athenians, and had been punished for its fidelity to Sparta by the devastation of its fields and the massacre of its inhabitants.

Massacre of Scio.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1821, Hist., p. 256. [2] Ibid., 1822, Hist., p. 271.
[3] Ibid., p. 276.
[4] The proclamation will be found in *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 798.

Richer than any other island in the Archipelago, it was long before Scio took any part in the Greek insurrection. In March 1822 a small band of insurgents landed on its shores, and the whole island rose at once in insurrection against the Turks. The Turkish commander, unable to make head against the insurgents, shut himself up in the castle and waited for reinforcements, which arrived on the 11th of April. Their arrival was immediately followed by the complete defeat of the insurgents, which proved the signal for the most horrible massacre which has disgraced the annals of the present century. For ten days the entire island was given over to fire and to the sword. Every building was destroyed, everything found alive was killed, except the younger women and children, who were reserved for a worse fate. The angel of death hovered over the island while anything remained to die; the work of destruction continued till nothing was left to destroy. A few hundred miserable persons, the solitary remnant of one hundred and twenty thousand people, were left to bewail the extermination of their race.[1]

The British minister formally remonstrated against this horrible outrage. The Greeks, mistrusting remonstrance, retaliated with effect on its authors. Two fireships silently floated in the middle of the night towards the Turkish squadron stationed off Scio. One of them, grappling with the flagship of the Turkish admiral, was with difficulty sunk. The other, attaching herself while the Turk was occupied with her comrade, bound herself to the admiral's vessel, and was soon involved with it in a common conflagration. The flames took effect with terrible consequences. The fire spreading to the magazine, the ship exploded, and two thousand of her crew were in a moment destroyed. So fatal a catastrophe had perhaps never previously been recorded in the annals of maritime warfare.

The Greeks' revenge.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1821, Hist., p. 274. Alison says that 25,000 persons were killed, 45,000 sold into slavery, and that 15,000 escaped (vol. iii. p. 140). Codrington, who visited the island shortly after the massacre, says that the population before the massacre was 120,000, of whom 30,000 were killed and 80,000 sold or exiled. *Codrington*, vol. i. pp. 390, 395.

Such were the leading episodes in the War of Independence. The summer of 1822 had been always designed for the reassembling of the sovereigns who had temporarily separated at Laybach. The monarchs, who had decided on the occupation of Naples and Piedmont, had to determine whether the time had arrived at which the Austrian troops could be safely withdrawn. Russia was desirous of bringing before the Congress the position of Greece. The state of Spain required consideration, and the relations of Spain to her colonies were creating anxiety. The British Government imagined that these points would be the principal topics discussed at the Conference. It selected as its representative the remarkable statesman who for ten years had guided the foreign policy of his country. Castlereagh was preparing to set out for Vienna, where the Congress was to assemble, when he was seized with the fatal illness which terminated his career. He died by his own hand;[1] and, for one of the most eventful months in the history of Europe, George was being "fiddled unto by Sawney" in Scotland, and England was without a Foreign Minister. Though, however, Castlereagh's place at the Foreign Office was left unfilled, Wellington was at once appointed to represent this country at the Congress. He was preparing for his journey when he was seized with a severe illness. The Emperor of Russia arrived at Vienna on the 9th of September; the English envoy only reached Paris on his road thither on the 20th. The Turkish question had been practically settled, and the Congress had adjourned to Verona to adjudicate on the affairs of Italy before the Duke was able to join the council. His delay was attended with one advantage. Before he left England, Canning had accepted the seals of the Foreign Office; the Duke himself having been instrumental in overcoming the king's repugnance to this appointment.

The Congress of Vienna.

Wellington sent to Verona.

[1] "Lord Londonderry s'étoit coupé la gorge à Londres, et nous nous partions pour Vérone," wrote Chateaubriand with the cynical conciseness which enlivens every page of the *Congrès de Vérone*.—Chateaubriand's *Works*, vol. xii. p. 33.

The instructions to the Duke had been drawn up before Canning's acceptance of office. The British envoy was desired, in passing through Paris, to endeavour to arrive at some distinct understanding with the French Government upon the Spanish question.[1] The Duke accordingly called on M. de Villèle, and learned with some surprise and alarm that a section of the French Cabinet was of opinion that France should at once attack the Spaniards and rescue the King of Spain. The French, Wellington thought, had assembled their army in a hurry; they were afraid to advance; they were ashamed to retire; and they wished, if they entered Spain at all, for a covering authority from the allied powers at Verona. Wellington's report of his conversation with De Villèle was the first intimation which the British Cabinet had received of the prominence the Spanish question would receive at the Congress. But another fact almost immediately afterwards threw fresh significance on the Duke's report. Sir W. A'Court had just been appointed British minister at Madrid, in succession to Mr. Hervey, whose health had required his retirement. Sir W. A'Court, who had been minister at Naples, held a high position in the diplomatic service. He departed somewhat hastily for his new post, and the four great Continental powers ventured on remonstrating with the British Government on Sir William's "precipitate departure." Sir William's arrival, it was urged, would encourage the disaffected, and would lend colour to the reports, which were already prevalent, of disunion amongst the allies. Canning at once saw, "from the combined movement on the part of the four missions, that some joint public declaration on the affairs of Spain" was "in the contemplation of the allied sovereigns." It therefore became his duty not merely to put Wellington on his guard, but to direct him to resist any proposal for intervention in Spain. If the allies entertained, he wrote, "a determined project of interference by force or by menace in the

His instructions.

The views of France.

The views of Canning.

[1] The instructions will be found in Wellington Supplementary *Despatches*, vol. i. p. 284.

present struggle in Spain, so convinced are his Majesty's Government of the uselessness and danger of any such interference—so objectionable does it appear to them in principle, and so utterly impracticable in execution—that, if the necessity should arise, or (I would rather say) if the opportunity should offer, I am to instruct your Grace at once frankly and peremptorily to declare that to any such interference, come what may, his Majesty will not be a party."[1]

The Duke left Paris on the 23rd of September, and reached Vienna on the 29th. On his way through Munich he received a letter from Metternich announcing the adjournment of the Congress to Verona. The sovereigns did not intend to arrive at Verona before the 16th of October,[2] and the Duke had, therefore, a fortnight's leisure to acquaint himself with the views of the other powers on the Spanish question. He discovered that Austria desired to leave the Spaniards to themselves. Metternich, indeed, would have liked to have overturned constitutional government in Spain, and to have re-established the absolute authority of Ferdinand; but he was shrewd enough to see the danger and the difficulty inseparable from the attempt, and he shrank from the risk which the enterprise would involve.[3] Russia, on the other hand, regarded Spain "as the head-quarters of revolution and Jacobinism." "So long as the revolution in that country should be allowed to continue, every country in Europe, and France in particular, was," in the judgment of the Czar, "unsafe." The Czar, however, "felt no confidence either in the loyalty or the military qualities of the French army;" and he hinted that his own troops might be placed at the disposal of the alliance for the purpose of overturning the Spanish Government.

The views of Austria and Russia.

These preliminary conversations occupied the Duke's time

[1] *Despatches* of Duke of Wellington, vol. i. p. 304. Extracts from these despatches will be found, in the shape in which they were published at the time, in *Hansard*, New Series, vol. viii. p. 904, and *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 4. These extracts are worse than useless: they withhold so much information as to be absolutely misleading.

[2] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. i. pp. 319, 322. [3] Ibid., p. 343.

at Vienna. From Vienna he proceeded by easy stages to Verona. Many people are now well acquainted with the old Roman town on the Adige, whose antiquities, whose history, whose situation, and whose associations tempt them to break their journey to Venice. But those who now visit the quiet town can have little idea of the bustle and gaiety which it witnessed in the autumn of 1822. In that dull, quiet town were collected the rank, the beauty, and the genius of Europe. The Emperor of Russia, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, the ex-Empress of the French were all present in the city. Metternich was there to watch the interests of Austria; Nesselrode to advise his autocratic master. Montmorency, who held the seals of the French Foreign Office, was assisted by Chateaubriand, the brilliant author of the "History of the Congress." In Wellington this country had a representative whose abilities and whose achievements had raised him above all his contemporaries. The Duke, on his arrival at Verona, found that the great Continental powers had already modified their views. "All notion of what is called an European army, or any offensive operation against Spain," he wrote on the 18th of October, "is at an end, and we are to meet to-morrow or next day to see what the French ministers have to say to us on that subject."[1]

Wellington reaches Verona.

A confidential meeting of the representatives of the five powers took place two days afterwards. Montmorency read a paper reviewing the course of events in France and Spain since the revolution of 1820, and concluded by handing in another paper for the consideration of the Congress. The second paper asked the allies to say whether, if France found it necessary to recall her minister from Madrid, the other courts would adopt the same measure? Whether, if war broke out between France and Spain, the other powers would extend to France their moral support? And finally, whether, in the case of France desiring their active interference, they

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. i. p. 384.

would afford her effective assistance?[1] The Czar at once declared his readiness "to consent to all the demands of the French ministers," to march an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men through Germany into Piedmont, "to fall upon France—if the Jacobin party in France should take advantage of the absence of the army, or its possible disaster in Spain, to make any attempt upon the Government—or upon Spain, if the French Government should require its assistance."[2] Montmorency was, for the moment, disposed to close with the Czar's offer. Wellington, however, pointed out to him the extreme danger which would arise to France from the presence of a large Russian army on her southern frontier. Metternich, alarmed at the possible consequences of 150,000 Russian soldiers in Italy, backed up Wellington; and Montmorency was at last persuaded "to oppose the movement of any troops by any of the allies till they shall be positively called for by France."[3]

The danger of Russian intervention was removed but the possibility of French interference in Spain was not decreased.

Britain dissents from the policy of the other powers.

On the contrary, the Continental powers undertook on their part to withdraw their ministers from Madrid, should the French Government find it necessary to recall its own; they promised "to give to France every countenance and assistance she should require;" and they agreed that the ministers of each of the four Continental courts "at Madrid should present a separate note of the same tenour, and drawn upon the same principles."[4] This determination on the part of the allies at once brought out in strong relief the distinction between the policy of England and that of the other Continental powers. The announcement that the Continental powers would remonstrate with Spain elicited a firm declaration from Wellington. The Duke declared that "his Government must decline to hold a common language with his allies upon this occasion;" and

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. i. pp. 404, 409. *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 5. *Hansard*, vol. viii. p. 905. Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. i. p. 149.
[2] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. i. p. 457. [3] Ibid. p. 458. [4] Ibid. p. 519.

he went on to say that the British Government would direct its "minister at Madrid to allay the ferment which the communications of the allies must cause."[1]

The alteration in the policy of the British Government was now apparent. At Laybach it had officially protested against the interference of the allies in the affairs of Naples, but it had privately expressed its sympathy with Austria. At Verona, Metternich hoped that it would have continued the same policy.[2] He found, to his intense annoyance, that the British Government was not only determined to lend no indirect aid to the Continental powers, but that it had also decided to counteract, as far as possible, the impression which their remonstrances might make at Madrid. Further deliberation with Wellington on the Spanish question became impossible. The Continental powers, in future, discussed the matter alone; and they agreed at one of their conferences on a treaty—which they called a *procès verbal*—defining the conditions on which France should be entitled to their succour against Spain. But, though the Continental powers were able to embody their joint views on the subject in a common document, every discussion brought out more sharply the differences among them. Russia, or the Emperor of Russia, was bent upon war, for the double object of employing his own troops and of stamping out a revolution which he considered "inconsistent with the happiness of Spain and the safety of every other country in Europe."[3] Austria, on the contrary, or rather Metternich, her minister, swung like a pendulum from one extreme to the other; full of apprehensions at one moment of the presence of a Russian army in Piedmont; full of anxiety at another to please and satisfy the Russian Emperor.[4] Prussia adopted the shifting sentiments of the Austrian minister, and concealed her secret anxiety for peace by the exceptional vigour of her remonstrances.[5] No real agreement, then, existed between the great

The alteration in the foreign policy of Britain.

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. i. p. 559.

[2] See a remarkable memorandum of Charles, Lord Londonderry, in ibid., p. 510.

[3] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. i. pp. 520, 555.

[4] Ibid., p. 564.

[5] Ibid. p. 566.

Continental potentates; and the words which they employed, instead of signifying a common purpose, were used to conceal their numerous differences.

The sentiments of the French Cabinet were as various as those of the other allies. De Villèle, the head of the ministry, was bent on regarding the Spanish question as exclusively French, and on finding some tolerable pretext for a pacific solution of it. Montmorency, the head of the Foreign Office and the French representative at Verona, persisted in regarding it as exclusively European, and hardly attempted to conceal his anxiety for war. Chateaubriand steered a middle course between the rival views of the two ministers, and argued that the question of Spain was partly French and partly European. He was, however, at least as anxious for war as his colleague at Verona. The sharp divergence between the views of De Villèle and those of Montmorency became immediately visible after the conclusion of the conference. De Villèle hurriedly sent a minister to Verona begging the Continental sovereigns to suspend the transmission to Madrid of the despatches which had been the chief result of their long conferences on Spain.[1] Montmorency, on the contrary, pledged himself to supplement these despatches with a similar remonstrance from the French Government. The allied sovereigns declined to comply with De Villèle's request, and to postpone the transmission of their despatches to Madrid. The despatches were sent; and, as no favourable answer was returned to them, Russia, Austria, and Prussia withdrew their ministers from the Spanish Court. Montmorency, full of the pledges which he had given at Verona, desired that France should follow the example of the allied potentates. De Villèle, bent on regarding the Spanish question as French, was determined to separate himself from the other allied powers. Foiled in his favourite policy, Montmorency resigned office; and Chateaubriand, who had adroitly trimmed his course between the European policy of one of his

The policy of France.

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. i. p. 633.

superiors and the French policy of the other, was appointed his successor.[1]

Before the resignation of Montmorency, Canning desired Wellington, who was returning through Paris from Verona, to offer the services of the British Government to mediate between Spain and France. The offer was declined. But, in declining it, Louis XVIII. told the Duke "that the best thing the British Government could do would be to endeavour to prevail upon the Spaniards to modify their system in such a manner as to give the King of Spain some security for the safety of his person and more authority, and to the system itself more stability."[2] The casual remark which Louis XVIII. thus made suggested the possibility of one more effort for the conclusion of peace. Wellington held an exceptional position in Europe. He was a grandee of Spain; he was the owner of a large Spanish property; he was, in some respects, a Spaniard by adoption; and he had many intimate friends in the Spanish Government. The British ministry thought that, in these circumstances, the Spanish Government might be induced to regard with exceptional favour any counsels which emanated from the Duke. For a moment it contemplated sending him on a special mission to Spain.[3] But ultimately, instead of sending the Duke himself, it decided on despatching Lord Fitzroy Somerset, one of his intimate friends, to Madrid.[4] "Lord Fitzroy Somerset was desired to urge on the Spanish Government the importance of giving the King of Spain the power of executing his office." There were grounds for hoping that Spain might be ready to receive this suggestion with favour. "Spaniards of all parties and descriptions admitted some modifications of the Constitution of 1812 to be indispensably necessary;" and it therefore seemed possible to obtain these

Canning offers to mediate between France and Spain.

[1] Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. i. pp. 225–229.

[2] Ibid., p. 224. Wellington *Despatches*, vol. i. p. 645.

[3] Ibid., pp. 7, 46, 63.

[4] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 32, and Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 1. The editor of the *State Papers* has suppressed, as usual, the strong passages in the Duke's letter.

modifications at a time when their success would promote the internal prosperity of the country and avert the prospect of foreign war.

Somerset's mission might possibly have proved successful if it had not been for an untoward circumstance. Soon after his arrival, news reached Madrid of the opening of the French Chambers, and the public learned that Louis XVIII. had withdrawn his minister from Madrid. "The infatuation with which the representations made at Madrid have been rejected leaves little hope of preserving peace,"—so ran the speech of Louis XVIII.—"I have ordered the recall of my minister. One hundred thousand Frenchmen, commanded by a prince of my family, by him whom my heart delights to call my son, are ready to march, invoking the God of St. Louis to preserve the throne of Spain for a descendant of Henry IV., to save this beautiful kingdom from its ruin, and to reconcile it with Europe. If war is inevitable, I will use my utmost efforts to confine its area and to limit its duration. It shall only be undertaken to conquer the peace which the state of Spain would make impossible. Let Ferdinand VII. be free to give to his people the institutions which they cannot hold except from him. From that moment hostilities shall cease."[1]

Louis XVIII.'s speech on opening the Chambers.

Louis XVIII. had made war inevitable. He had, in fact, repeated the famous declaration of the Continental potentates at Laybach. "Useful or necessary changes in legislation and in the administration of states," wrote the allied monarchs at Laybach, "ought only to emanate from the free-will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God had rendered responsible for power." "Let Ferdinand be free to give to his people the institutions which they cannot hold except from him," was the declaration of Louis XVIII. Castlereagh had waited from the 8th of December 1820 to the 19th of January 1821, before he published a timid rejoinder to the declaration of the allied monarchs. Canning, on the contrary, waited "not a week, not even a day," to

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 758.

tell France that no British statesmen could "uphold or defend" the policy which Louis XVIII. announced. "If that speech were to be understood," said Canning in the House of Commons, "as the plain meaning of the words in which it was couched naturally suggested, no British statesman who valued his character as a member of a free state could either think or hear of his country being made a party to negotiations for the purpose of discussing such monstrous proposals."[1] Canning's vigorous remonstrance had not the effect of preserving peace, but it induced the French Government to explain away the phrase and to adopt another construction of it, which Canning "was free to confess the words were not altogether qualified to bear." The negotiations, in consequence, were permitted to proceed; but the prospects of success "became gradually fainter, and at last vanished altogether." On the 23rd of March the Spanish Cortes was closed, and the members of it followed the king, who had preceded them three days before, to Seville. On the 7th of April the Duc d'Angoulême crossed the Bidassoa. The Spanish war began.

Canning remonstrates.

The conduct of France towards Spain excited consternation in this country. Spain had been the theatre of the victories of the British army; the defence of Spain against France had been the greatest achievement of the British general. The revolution in Spain had been regarded with favour by the Liberal party in Britain; and the future of liberty in Europe seemed partially dependent on its success. Constitutional government, stamped out in almost every Continental country, hardly existed on the Continent, except in the Spanish peninsula. The friends of freedom might be pardoned for overlooking the excesses which the Constitutionalists had committed in Spain; the patriots might be pardoned for thinking that the sacrifices which England had made in the Peninsula would be useless if Spain were once more to be occupied by a French army. Many Englishmen desired to regard the passage of the Bidassoa as

The Spanish war provokes a strong feeling in Britain.

[1] *Hansard*, New Series, vol. viii. p. 885.

a declaration of war against England, and were disposed to censure the ministry for the moderation of their conduct. Addresses censuring the ministry were moved on the 24th of April in the House of Lords, and on the 28th of April in the House of Commons. Both of them were rejected by large majorities. Any other result was, in fact, impracticable. There were only two grounds on which it was possible to attack the policy of the ministry. Exception might be taken to their conduct of the negotiations, or objection might be raised to their neutrality in the war. Grey boldly contended that Great Britain ought to have used language in the Conference which might have resulted in war. Mackintosh insisted that no war could be more justifiable than one undertaken to preserve the balance of power in Europe. A minority of the Legislature supported the views which were thus expressed; but the majority was in favour of a policy of neutrality, and determined to support the ministry in its resolution to preserve the country from war.[1]

This general agreement necessarily weakened the case of the Opposition. If it were once determined that this country ought to abstain from embarking on a new war with France, one-half of the case against the ministry broke down. All that the Opposition, in that case, could do was to impugn the conduct of the negotiations at Verona, at Paris, and at Madrid. The Opposition did this. It complained that the language used by Wellington at Verona was tame and insufficient, that the ministry had been duped by France in the negotiations at Paris; and that it had no right to affront the Spaniards by proposing to them to modify their constitution at the pleasure of France. The first of these criticisms was open to a crushing reply from Canning. The best test of the conduct of the negotiations was their success; and the negotiations at Verona had been essentially successful. The object of the allies at Verona was to concert a general war against Spain; the attitude of England had defeated their intentions. "The immediate object of Eng-

Attack upon the Government.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. viii. pp. 1175, 1231, 1253, 1407, 1548.

land," said Canning, "was to hinder the impress of a joint character from being affixed to the war—if war there must be —with Spain; to take care that the war should not grow out of an assumed jurisdiction of the Congress; and this I say was accomplished."[1] The second criticism, from its very nature, was less easily disposed of. It was open to any one to say that England had been duped by France; and the course of events undoubtedly afforded some pretext for the imputation. Canning could only reply that he still believed that the French Government hoped to avert the war, and that it had been forced into it "by the violence of a political party in France. . . . "We, forsooth, are condemned as dupes, because our opponents gratuitously ascribe to France one settled, systematic, and invariable line of policy," while the French ministry had constantly changed its ground. "And this," said Canning, "brings me to the point on which the longest and fiercest battle has been waged against us—the suggestion to Spain of the expediency of altering her constitution. It is said that everything was required of Spain and nothing of France. I utterly deny it. France said to Spain, 'Your revolution disquiets me;' and Spain replied to France, 'Your army of observation disquiets me.' There were but two remedies for this state of things—war or concession. Nothing but some modification of the Spanish Constitution could avert the calamity of war. Considering its immediate practical advantage to Spain, the withdrawal of the army of occupation would not have been too dearly purchased by such an alteration."[2]

Canning's speech was received with unqualified admiration, both by the audience to which it was addressed and the country at large.[3] In the meanwhile the Duc d'Angoulême was steadily advancing into the heart of Spain. Those, who recollected the fierce struggle which Spain had maintained against the French Empire only

The progress of the war.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. viii. p. 1483.
[2] Compressed from the speech in *Hansard*, vol. viii. pp. 1478–1527.
[3] *Ann. Reg.*, 1823, p. 45.

fifteen years before, anticipated that the path of the Duc d'Angoulême would be full of danger and difficulty. The French army, however, met with hardly more resistance than the Austrians in 1821 had encountered in Naples. Though Mina, the ablest of the Spanish generals, maintained himself in Catalonia against the left wing of the French army, the Duke's own progress was only interrupted by some obscure skirmishes. On the 7th of April he crossed the Bidassoa; he remained for about a month at Vittoria; on the 10th of May he arrived at Burgos; on the 23rd of May the rear of the French army entered Madrid. At the first threat of French invasion the King of Spain had been removed from Madrid to Seville. The advance of the French troops made the Cortes insist on his further removal to Cadiz. The French had no alternative but to follow the king. Angoulême did not allow the grass to grow under the feet of his battalions. He pushed them forward with such vigour, that on the 13th of June they were at Cordova; in the middle of July the siege of Cadiz had commenced. All the zeal of two Englishmen, Lord Nugent and Sir Robert Wilson, who hurried to the rescue, could not avert the fall of the town.[1] On the 31st of August the great fortress of the Trocadéro was taken by assault; and on the 3rd of October Cadiz capitulated.[2]

Few wars were ever less justifiable than those which were undertaken by Austria against Naples in 1821, and by France against Spain in 1823. Unjustifiable as they were, however, few wars were ever attended with more decisive

[1] "Lord Nugent's conduct," said Canning, alluding to his Lordship's size (he was very stout), "was a most enormous breach of neutrality." "It was about the middle of last July that the heavy Falmouth coach was observed to proceed to its destination with more than its wonted gravity. The coach contained two passengers—the one a fair lady of considerable dimensions; the other a gentleman who was about to carry the succour of his person to the struggling patriots of Spain." Canning went on, amidst roars of laughter, to describe Lord Nugent's luggage, helmet, and uniform. (*Hansard*, vol. x. p. 1275.) Sir R. Wilson, for his conduct on this occasion, was deprived of the foreign orders which he had received for his distinguished services. (See his complaint, ibid., p. 1257.)

[2] *Ann. Reg.*, 1823, Hist., pp. 190–210.

success. The invasion of Naples involved little more than a military parade. The French army marched from one end of Spain to the other in less than six months. The resistance of Spain collapsed, because the Spaniards were sick of the cause for which they were nominally fighting. The Constitutionalists offended the pride and prejudices of their countrymen; and the great mass of the nation stood aloof, and regarded their downfall with indifference. But the difficulties of France began when the difficulties of her armies ceased. His own previous experience, the ruin of the Constitutional Cortes, might have taught prudence to a king who was less self-willed than Ferdinand the Bourbon. But nothing could exceed the imprudence of the king. The follies of the Constitutionalists were forgotten in the presence of the greater follies which resulted from the restoration. All the acts of the Constitutional Government were declared null and void; every one connected with the Constitutional Cortes was forbidden to approach within five leagues of the king's route to Madrid; the clergy, with Don Carlos, the king's brother, at their head, clamoured for the restoration of the Inquisition. It was in vain that the Duc d'Angoulême tendered more moderate counsels; the advice of the French was disregarded by the Spanish Royalists. The absolute government of Ferdinand was in every respect more wretched than the Constitutional Government of the Cortes. "The constituted authorities did not administer justice; the country was overrun with banditti; and neither life nor property was secure against the attacks of these lawful and lawless depredators."[1]

Louis XVIII. had solemnly undertaken that hostilities should cease from the moment when Ferdinand was free. Ferdinand had been delivered by the bayonets of the French army; hostilities had, in one sense, ceased; but the French army of occupation still remained in Spain. Difficult as the task of invading Spain had seemed in the spring, the difficulty of evacuating Spain seemed

The embarrassment of France after her victory.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1823, Hist., pp. 209, 210. Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. i. p. 459.

much greater in the autumn. The French army of occupation formed the only guarantee against disorder, or even civil war. The French army of occupation formed the only guarantee for the moderate treatment of the Spanish Constitutionalists. In the commencement of 1824 a treaty was signed between France and Spain by which France undertook to maintain an army of 45,000 men in Spain for the next six months.[1] The arrangement was inevitable; but it obviously altered the whole conditions of the Franco-Spanish war. The same causes which had led to the retention of a French garrison for six months might possibly involve the occupation of Spain by France for six years. France would thus obtain a preponderating influence in South-Western Europe, which was equally opposed to the traditions of the British Foreign Office and to the best interests of the British nation. The occupation of Spain alone was, indeed, a matter of less importance than diplomatists nurtured in the atmosphere of the Foreign Office might have imagined. Spain was only great in her historic past. Anarchy and bankruptcy had reduced her to impotence. Spain, however, still nominally retained the rich colonial empire which the Spaniards of another generation had won for their country; the future of the Spanish colonies was a subject on which no great trading country could afford to be indifferent; and rumours reached the Foreign Office that the French Government was contemplating indemnity for its expenditure by the forcible conquest of some of the South American colonies of Spain.[2]

The condition of Spanish South America made it essential that something should be done. Bolivar, by a victory at Carabolo, in 1820, had practically destroyed the sole chance which Spain retained of reconquering her colonial empire. The Spanish Government only occupied a few positions and ports on the continent. Spanish cruisers, issuing from these ports, preyed on the merchantmen of other countries trading with the insurgent colonies; and, as

The condition of the Spanish colonies.

[1] Authority for this statement will be found in Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. i. p. 460.

[2] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 20.

the trade with Spain was mainly conducted by British merchants, the depredations of the Spanish cruisers formed a constant source of irritation to this country. Remonstrances were continually addressed to the Spanish Government, but nothing was done. At length, in 1821, a Spanish privateer, the *Panchita*, captured a British merchant vessel, the *Lord Collingwood*, carried her into Porto Rico, and procured her condemnation on the ground that "she was found trading with the vessels of Buenos Ayres." Buenos Ayres had long "ceased to yield obedience to the mother country, and every vestige of Spanish authority" had "disappeared from that colony." The owner of the *Lord Collingwood* complained to Londonderry, who desired the British minister at Madrid to remonstrate with the Spanish Government. The Spanish Government promised inquiry, but from July to October 1822 it did nothing. Canning, succeeding to the Foreign Office, was clear that British forbearance had been extended already too far. "Representations and remonstrances" had "been made to the Spanish Government;" inquiry and redress had "been promised; but redress there" had "been none." "Neither the pride, nor the interest, nor the patience of this country" could bear these outrages any longer. The British minister at Madrid was instructed to inform the Spanish Government that orders had been issued to the Admiralty "to adopt the most decisive and summary measures for affording protection to his Majesty's subjects, and to the navigation of the West Indian seas." "To sweep the sea" alone "would be unavailing, so long as the pirates find sure and inviolable asylum in the ports and fastnesses of Cuba." The commander of the British squadron was, therefore, directed to land on the coast of Cuba," and, with or without the co-operation of the Government of Havana, "to take signal vengeance" on the pirates "for the outrages which have in so many instances been committed by them against the commerce, persons, and lives of his Majesty's subjects."[1]

Canning's despatch was dated the 18th of October 1822.

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. i. p. 377.

At that very time the Duke of Wellington was defending the cause of Spain at Verona. The Constitutional Government of Spain could not afford to quarrel with its only ally. Its chief chance of safety lay in the opposition of England to foreign intervention. The Spanish Government at once gave in. A decree was issued acknowledging the right of trading to the insurgent colonies, and assigning 40,000,000 reals for the satisfaction of the claims of British subjects.[1] This concession, however, did not reconcile the British Government to the unfortunate condition of the Spanish colonies. "Every day," Canning wrote to Wellington on the 8th of November, "convinces me more and more that in the present state of the world, in the present state of the Peninsula, and in the present state of this country, the American questions are out of all proportion more important to us than the European, and that, if we do not seize and turn them to our advantage in time, we shall rue the loss of an opportunity never to be recovered." "Every day," he wrote again on the same date,[2] "brings some fresh report of wrong inflicted on our commerce by vessels bearing the flag of Spain and acting under Spanish authorities. Accounts have been received at the Admiralty only to-day by which it appears that the Spanish governor of Porto Cabello (the only place of which the Royalist forces are in possession in the whole extent of the province of Columbia) has commissioned several ships of war to cruise against the merchant ships of every country presuming to trade with the insurgent colonies. It is impossible that this country should much longer put up with such outrageous injury."

Canning desires to recognise the South American Colonies.

The British Government was dissatisfied; and, in the meanwhile, other powers were insinuating that Spain had purchased British support at Verona by concessions in America. Wellington, arriving in Paris on his return from Verona, found M. de Villèle full of these reports. Villèle commented on the jealousy excited in France by every

Growing jealousy between France and England.

1 *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 897, and vol. x. p. 867.

2 Wellington *Despatches*, vol. i. pp. 511, 514.

measure which might alter the situation of England "either in respect to commerce or territory," and complained of the embarrassment in which our proceedings towards Cuba had involved the French Government. He said that he "had offered to mediate between Spain and any of her colonies of which the Spanish Government might be disposed to recognise the independence; and to engage to stipulate for every commercial advantage for Spain, but for none for France which Great Britain should not already enjoy." He offered to place a French expedition at the disposal of the Spanish Government, provided that France was placed on a commercial equality with Great Britain; and, warming as he proceeded, he concluded with a threat that France would not submit to any extension of British advantages or British territory.[1] The Duke naturally repeated the remarkable conversation to Canning. Canning only saw in the threat additional reasons to pursue his own policy. "I confess," he answered, "I long to tell M. de Villèle (if it were worth while, and if this were the moment) that we *will* trade with the late Spanish American colonies, whether France likes it or not; that we will not respect the Spanish guarda-costas, which attempt to interdict that trade to us; and that, if France sends a large fleet to help the guarda-costas, we will send a larger to watch (at least) their operations."[2]

Canning's views upon the South American question.

For the moment Canning was satisfied with this private intimation of his views to Wellington. So long as France and Spain were at peace, it was unnecessary to take any formal notice of the threat of the French minister. But, when all "hopes of accommodation" were unhappily extinguished, it became requisite to define the conditions on which the British Government would continue neutral. One of these conditions related to the insurgent colonies. "Time and the course of events," wrote Canning to the British minister at Paris, "appear to have substantially decided their separation from the mother country; although the formal recognition of those provinces as independent states by his Majesty may be hastened or retarded

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. i. p. 637. [2] Ibid., p. 650.

by various external circumstances, as well as by the more or less satisfactory progress in each state towards a regular and settled form of government. Spain has been long apprised of his Majesty's opinions upon this subject. Disclaiming in the most solemn manner any intention of appropriating to himself the smallest portion of the late Spanish possessions in America, his Majesty is satisfied that no attempt will be made by France to bring under her dominion any of those possessions, either by conquest or by cession from Spain."[1]

While the issue of the war was doubtful, Canning took no further steps towards the recognition of the Spanish colonies.

He appoints consuls to the South American ports.

The rapid progress of the French army, however, forced the question into prominence. Rumours were still rife that France was meditating the conquest of South America in the name of Spain.[2] It was notorious that such a proceeding would be approved by all the great Continental powers, and that England would be the solitary country in Europe opposed to it. In the month, in which the Duc d'Angoulême marched upon Madrid, Canning took the opportunity of sounding Rush, the American minister, on the views of the United States upon the subject. Rush, however, had no instructions from his Government upon it, and Canning was consequently compelled to act alone. The British ministry had contemplated the appointment of consuls at the South American ports in the autumn of 1822. They had refrained from appointing them then, because they were reluctant to take any steps unfriendly towards Spain at a time when the whole of the Continental powers of Europe were contemplating interference in her affairs. In 1823 it was no longer necessary to abstain from an act of an unfriendly nature. The French army had done its work; the despatch of consuls to South America could have no influence in Europe; and the ministry accordingly determined that the time had arrived for sending consuls to those places.

The appointment of consuls at the South American ports

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 69.

[2] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. pp. 137, 140.

was, however, only one of the steps which Canning determined on taking. In October 1823 he had a protracted interview with the Prince de Polignac, the French Ambassador in London, and explained to him the exact views of the British Cabinet. "The British Government," he said, "were of opinion that any attempt to bring Spanish America again under its ancient submission to Spain must be entirely hopeless; that all negotiation for that purpose would be unsuccessful; and that the prolongation or renewal of the war for the same object would be only a waste of human life." "If war should unhappily be prolonged," however, "the British Government would remain strictly neutral; but the junction of any foreign power in an enterprise of Spain against the colonies would be viewed by them as constituting an entirely new question, and one upon which they must take such decision as the interests of Great Britain might require." Polignac concurred in believing "it to be utterly hopeless to reduce Spanish America to the state of its former relation to Spain;" but he declared "that the French Government could not give nor venture to form an opinion as to what might be the best arrangement between Spain and her colonies until the King of Spain should be at liberty. They would then be ready to enter upon it, in concert with their allies, and with Great Britain among the number." Canning having suggested that any fresh attempt to interfere with British trade "might be best cut short by a speedy and unqualified recognition of the Spanish American States," Polignac observed, "that he could not conceive what could be meant, under the present circumstances," by the expression; "that there existed no government in these colonies which could offer any appearance of solidity; and that the acknowledgment of American independence, so long as such a state of things continued, appeared to him to be nothing less than a real sanction of anarchy. It would be worthy of the European Governments to endeavour to bring back to a principle of union in government, whether monarchical or aristocratic, people among whom absurd and dangerous

His interview with Polignac.

theories were now keeping up agitation and discord." Canning contented himself with replying that, "however desirable the establishment of a monarchical form of government might be, his Government could not take upon itself to put it forward as a condition of the recognition of the South American provinces."

Before this conversation occurred Ferdinand had been liberated by French bayonets. At liberty, he decided on inviting the Cabinets of his "dear and intimate allies to a Conference at Paris, to the end that their plenipotentiaries, assembled there along with those of his Catholic Majesty, may aid Spain in adjusting the affairs of the revolted countries of America." The "dear and intimate allies" of the liberated autocrat were the autocratic courts of Paris, St. Petersburg, and Vienna. His invitation was addressed to the Spanish ministers at these places. A copy of it only was forwarded to the British minister at Madrid.

He refuses to go into a Conference on the Colonial question.

Canning had some doubt whether an invitation given in so indirect and unusual a form deserved any answer at all. The Conference which the Spanish Government proposed was to assemble on the basis that it was expedient to aid Spain in adjusting the affairs of her revolted colonies. But it was becoming every day more plain that the only possible adjustment of those affairs which this country could tolerate was their complete separation from Spain. An extensive commercial connection had grown up between this country and South America, "to such an extent as to require some direct protection by the establishment of consuls. As to any further step to be taken by his Majesty towards the acknowledgment of the *de facto* Governments of America, the decision must depend upon various circumstances. But it appears manifest to the British Government, that if so large a portion of the globe should remain much longer without any recognised political existence, the consequences of such a state of things must be most injurious to the interests of all European nations. For these reasons the British Government is decidedly of

opinion that the recognition of such of the new states as have established *de facto* their separate political existence cannot be much longer delayed. The British Government" desired that Spain "should have the grace and advantage of leading the way in that recognition among the Powers of Europe. But the Court of Madrid must be aware that" Britain's discretion in this respect could not "be indefinitely bound up by that of his Catholic Majesty," and that the desire which was felt "to leave this proceeding to Spain" might "be overborne by considerations of a more comprehensive nature—considerations regarding not only the essential interests of his Majesty's subjects, but the relations of the old world with the new." In these circumstances the British Government did not think it necessary to go into a Conference to declare anew an opinion which it had already expressed to the Spanish Government, and which it had taken every opportunity of communicating to the other Continental powers.[1]

Such were the grounds on which Canning nominally refused to take part in the proposed Conference at Paris. But his refusal was in reality due to his distrust of the novel system of governing the world by congresses, and to his dislike of congresses in which British counsels were unattended to. "We protested at Laybach; we remonstrated at Verona: our protest was treated as waste paper; our remonstrances mingled with the air."[2] His refusal to take part in the Conference was emphasised by the message which the President of the United States simultaneously addressed to Congress. The President alluded to the striking fact that the allied powers of Europe had thought proper to interfere by force in the internal affairs of Spain. This interference was a matter of no moment to the Government of the United States; but the case would

The United States deprecate European interference in South America.

[1] The papers from which the preceding extracts are taken will be found in *Hansard*, New Series, vol. x. pp. 708-719; *Ann. Reg.*, 1824, Chron., p. 99*. See also Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. pp. 188-194, where the inner history of the matter will be found.

[2] Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. p. 37.

be very different if the allied powers should apply the same principles to the Spanish provinces of South America. Interposition there would endanger the peace and happiness of the United States, and could not be regarded with indifference. The United States were still willing "to leave the parties to themselves;" but they could only do so "in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course."

The President's message and Canning's despatch virtually destroyed the project of the Paris Conference. It was still open to the allied powers to assemble and discuss the Spanish question. But it was obvious that the discussion could only be conducted on the assumption that nothing whatever should be done. Spain might possibly be encouraged to continue her impotent exertions for the recovery of her colonial empire; but no other country would be permitted to assist her with a single vessel or a single battalion. Canning's despatches had made it plain that such assistance would be followed by the immediate recognition of the South American Provinces by Great Britain; the President's message had made it equally clear that such assistance would lead to a declaration of war from the United States. The President of the United States and Canning had practically settled the South American question. Canning, indeed, still hesitated to adopt the extreme course of recognising the insurgent colonies. He waited patiently for reports from the new consuls on their exact condition. He waited, too, in the hope that Spain herself might have the generosity to acknowledge a state of things which she had no power to modify. He waited in vain. Mortified at the refusal of the British ministry, encouraged by the assent of the other powers to the Conference, the Spanish Government protested against the policy of the British Cabinet. But its protest proved as idle as its original invitation. The Conference met at Paris, but it was only attended by the ordinary representatives of the various courts who had agreed to it.[1] The steady refusal of Great Britain to be a party to it, and the

The Paris Conference fails.

[1] Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. p. 60.

firm attitude of the United States, made its meeting an impotent ceremony.

The Conference was assembled in the summer of 1824. The British Parliament was prorogued on the 25th of June. The commencement of the recess afforded the Cabinet an opportunity for reviewing its position and deliberating on its future policy. It was impossible for any reasonable man to doubt that Spain had proved her inability to reduce her insurgent colonists to obedience; but it was equally impossible for any reasonable man to deny that the different colonies stood in various positions towards the mother country. In Peru the Spaniards still maintained a desultory warfare. The information about Chili was too imperfect to allow any satisfactory judgment to be formed upon it. In Columbia the Spaniards had till very recently possessed the solitary port of Puerto Cabello, whose situation enabled them to retain a doubtful hold upon the colony. Mexico, though freed from the troops of the mother country, was the prey of various claimants for its throne and the scene of intestine disorders. But the Spaniards were themselves prepared to admit that the vast territory of which Buenos Ayres is the capital, and which then bore the name of its chief town, was in a more favourable situation. Every account received from South America agreed in referring to the satisfactory condition of this territory and the consolidation of its Government. The British ministry accordingly decided to recognise its independence by negotiating a commercial treaty with its *de facto* Government. Instructions to this effect were issued in August to Parish, who had been appointed Consul-General at Buenos Ayres in the previous autumn. But these instructions formed only the precursors of more extended measures in the same direction. Before the year closed satisfactory reports were received of the state of affairs in Mexico and Columbia. The establishment of commercial relations with Buenos Ayres was accordingly followed by the recognition of these republics; and the measures which had been taken with this object were formally

The recognition of Buenos Ayres, Columbia, and Mexico.

announced in the speech from the throne at the commencement of 1825.[1]

The policy which was thus adopted was the logical result of Canning's proceedings during the preceding years. But in the eyes of autocratic sovereigns the recognition of insurgent colonists was disastrous, because "it tended to encourage the revolutionary spirit which it had been found so difficult to restrain in Europe."[2] The Continental powers, moreover, had some little excuse for their irritation in the unusual manner in which they were treated by the British Foreign Minister. *Fortis in re*, Canning had not schooled himself to be *suavis in modo*. Intent on his end, he cared little for the susceptibilities of those whose opinions were opposed to his own. Austria led the way on all great political questions, and Austria was a mere synonym for Metternich, her minister. Metternich and Castlereagh had corresponded on terms of the closest intimacy. Metternich and Canning watched each other like skilful swordsmen, each afraid of the other's thrust. Canning had no patience with a minister who was prepared to crush the rising spirit of liberty in its birth. Metternich could not understand the object of a statesman who seemed bent on imposing on Great Britain the, to his eyes, impracticable policy of the United States. Even Canning's words seemed as unintelligible as his object. The British minister at Vienna was led to believe that Canning rested his policy on his conversation with Polignac in the previous autumn. The French Government was, on the contrary, induced to think that Great Britain was on the eve of recognising the insurgent colonies; while a foreign minister in London reported that the British Cabinet would have taken part in the proposed Conference if it had been held in London, and not in Paris. Diplomatists complained

Distrust of Canning abroad,

[1] Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. p. 61. *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xii. p. 4. A very useful paper on the condition of the Spanish colonies will be found in Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. pp. 116 125. Cf. Conde de Ofalia's despatch (*State Papers*, vol. xii. p. 959). For the appointment of consuls see *Ann. Reg.*, 1823, Chron., p. 135.

[2] Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. p. 79.

that the ordinary rules of official correspondence had been ignored by the statesman who had revolutionised the foreign policy of Great Britain; and the allies, who had enjoyed the confidence of Castlereagh, declared that no communications had been made to them which could have enabled them to judge correctly the grounds on which the decisions of the British Government were taken.[1]

Canning cared but little for the remonstrances of Metternich; but he had other difficulties in his way which were less easily got over. The king held strong opinions, or, as Liverpool termed them, strong prejudices, on foreign politics, and exerted all his influence and all his authority to prevent the recognition of insurgent colonists. In George IV.'s view their recognition involved a secession from the Quadruple Alliance and an adoption of Liberal or even Jacobin principles. Besides these general objections, moreover, Great Britain, in George IV.'s judgment, had especial reasons for refusing to sanction insurrection of any kind. The page which he most regretted in the history of his father's reign was that on which the loss of America was related; the subject which gave his own advisers the greatest anxiety was the disturbed state of Ireland. Was Great Britain to condone the revolt of the United States by favouring the severance of the South American colonies from Spain? Was Great Britain to hold out encouragement to every disaffected Irishman by recognising rebellion in the New World?[2] If, indeed, the king had stood alone, his views would have been of minor importance. But the king's opinions were shared by a minority in the Cabinet—a minority which found its chief exponent in Wellington. Wellington had never entirely agreed with Canning's policy towards Spain. He thought that the Government was being driven by a revolutionary faction to support revolutionary measures;[3] he hesitated to

and in England.

1 Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. pp. 205, 206.

2 Ibid., pp. 368, 401–404.

3 "A party in this country have long wished that we should be defeated by the modern revolutionists; but, that object having failed and being hopeless, they now wish to enlist us under their banners, and to obtain for them our sup-

indorse the principle which Canning laid down in the autumn of 1823, that one country was not entitled to transfer to another the right of regaining its territories by force. He objected in the spring of 1824 to the production of the Spanish papers, because their publication was likely to elicit a Parliamentary demonstration in favour of the insurgents. He dissented from the instructions which were given to the Consul-General at Buenos Ayres, and the haste with which steps were taken for entering into a specific treaty with the Government of that city; and he tendered his resignation to Liverpool when the Cabinet resolved to recognise the independence of Columbia and Mexico.[1] With the single exception of Canning, Wellington was the most influential member of the Government, and his views, it must be recollected, were shared by other members of it. Three peers, of unequal ability and importance, were opposed to the recognition of Buenos Ayres. Eldon, the most influential of the three, characteristically grumbled at the decision, but as characteristically gave in. Sidmouth, who still retained a seat in the Cabinet without office, protested, and ultimately availed himself of a private reason to retire from a Government whose opinions he no longer shared.[2] Westmorland, who had, perhaps, smaller abilities than any other member of the Cabinet, retained to the last his objections to the measure. No member of the Government would have either asked or cared for his opinion; yet his action on the subject, by a strange accident, was on the eve of breaking up the Administration.

The accident came about in this way. Westmorland's eldest son, Lord Burghersh, was minister at Florence, and

port." (*Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 134.) It is worth while comparing with this Lord Redesdale's strong opinion, in *Colchester*, vol. iii. p. 300: "Liberality is the word of the day. That word produced twenty years of confusion and misery in France; it threatened Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and produced much mischief in all those countries. It still threatens France; it annoys Germany; it has spread into Russia; and it is seriously threatening the British Empire with the overthrow of all its ancient institutions, by which it has hitherto flourished." These views show the strength of the feeling which Canning had to overcome in 1824.

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. pp. 135, 229, 297, 366.

[2] *Colchester*, vol. iii. p. 351.

Westmorland desired to pay him a visit in the autumn holiday of 1824. He reached Paris; but on his arrival he found that Louis XVIII. was dead; and he recollected that he had himself been very seasick in crossing the Channel. The effects of seasickness, and a desire to watch the results of the king's death, induced him to remain at Paris. The new king, Charles X., naturally paid attention to a member of the British Cabinet. He spoke to him about Spanish America; and he was, perhaps, not altogether displeased at finding that Westmorland's views did not differ very materially from his own. On his return home, Westmorland asked an audience of George IV., and communicated to him his conversation with Charles X. He sought an interview with Canning, and told him what the King of France had said. Canning was annoyed that the British Government should even temporarily have had a spokesman in the French Court whose views were opposed to his own policy, and he decided on imitating Westmorland's example, and on paying a flying visit to Paris. Sir Charles Stuart, who had filled the position of ambassador at that court for ten years, had just been recalled. Lord Granville had been selected as his successor; and Canning determined to run over to Paris and to pay a short visit to the new ambassador. The rumour of his intention reached the ears of Wellington, who at once saw strong objections to a visit which half the world would be certain to regard as connected with some important negotiation. He tried to dissuade his colleague from carrying out his intention. Canning, warming at the remonstrance, expatiated on the unfairness towards himself of Westmorland's visit, and forwarded the correspondence to Liverpool, with a complaint that the king repeated his private conversations to the Duke, who, in his turn, related them to other people. It required all the patience of Wellington and all the tact of Liverpool to pacify their colleague. It is said indeed that nothing but the adoption immediately afterwards of his own views averted Canning's retirement from the Government.[1]

Westmorland's visit to Paris.

[1] The curious correspondence about Westmorland's unlucky visit to Paris

Canning induced the Government to recognise the revolted colonies of Spain; but the recognition was purchased at the cost of estranging every Continental court. It had been resisted at every stage by the king, and by a strong minority in the Cabinet; it had almost produced the disruption of the Administration. It had been effected; and the merits of the policy, whatever they might be, were properly attributable to Canning alone. They justified the egotism of his boast, which was little relished by the colleagues who had resisted his policy: "*I* resolved that, if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. *I* called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."[1] The announcement that the insurgent colonies had been recognised was made a full month before Parliament met; and the passage in the speech from the throne which related to the matter contained, therefore, nothing that was new. Yet the simple words in which the subject was dealt with rekindled the opposition of king and Cabinet. The king denounced the speech in dog Latin as "Speechum catticissimum," and declared that "he would not have delivered it in its present state." Fortunately for George IV., a sharp attack of gout and the loss of some false teeth gave him an excuse for staying away. Eldon, on whom the task of reading the speech fell, remarked that he didn't much admire its composition or its matter, and that he should read it better if he liked it better.[2]

Canning prevails.

However distasteful passages in the speech may have been to the stout old Tory Chancellor and to the king, no one in either House of Parliament condemned the recognition of the Spanish colonies. The utmost that the Opposition ventured on doing was to suggest that the Foreign Office had torn a page out of the Whig programme, and that the policy which

will be found in Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. pp. 313–326. For Canning's threatened resignation see Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. p. 95; and Greville, vol. i. p. 105.

[1] The speech was made two years after the recognition of the Spanish colonies, December 12, 1826. (*Hansard*, New Series, vol. xvi. p. 397.) Greville says Canning gave offence to his colleagues by the concluding sentence. The "*I*" was not relished. (Vol. i. p. 83.)

[2] *Colchester*, vol. iii. p. 363. *Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 534.

had been adopted at Christmas might have been safely acted on nine months before. These doubts were rather suggested than raised by Lansdowne in the House of Lords.[1] They were insisted on with much more force by Brougham in the House of Commons. Canning undertook, in replying to them, to show that the time at which the colonies had been recognised had been peculiarly appropriate for the purpose. The thirteen or fourteen separate states which composed the territory of Buenos Ayres had only lately been collected into a federal union. As late as 1822 the last of the Spanish forces had been removed from Puerto Cabello in Columbia, and since then Columbia had risked her existence on a distant war with Spain in Peru. During the last few months an adventurer had endeavoured to possess himself of the sceptre of Mexico; and the failure of his attempt, and the consequent cessation of civil war, afforded an appropriate opportunity for the recognition of that country. Canning was, therefore, able to plead peculiar circumstances to make the recognition of all these states particularly appropriate to the time; and the speech told because no one cared to reply that the constant revolutions which these states had endured since their separation from the mother country would have furnished him with a similar argument on a dozen other occasions. With more dexterity he turned the laugh against Brougham, who had declared that the ministry had only followed the lead of the Opposition. "The honourable and learned gentleman having, in the course of his Parliamentary life, proposed and supported almost every species of innovation which could be practised towards the Constitution, it was not easy for ministers to do anything in the affair of South America without borrowing, or seeming to borrow, something from him. Break away in what direction they would, it was all alike. 'Oho!' said the honourable and learned gentleman, 'I was there before you—you would not have thought of that, now, if I had not given you the hint.' In the reign of Queen Anne there was a sage and grave critic of the name of Dennis, who, in his old age, got it into his

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xii. p. 21.

head that he wrote all the good plays that were acted at that time. At last a tragedy came forth with a most imposing storm of hail and thunder. At the first peal Dennis cried out, 'That's *my* thunder.' So with the honourable and learned gentleman: there was no noise or stir for the good of mankind in any part of the globe but he instantly claimed it for his thunder."[1]

The preponderating influence which France had acquired in Spain no longer possessed the significance which in previous generations would have attached to it. The presence of a French army in Spain, however, foreboded another possible danger to this country. The frontier of Spain marches upon that of Portugal. The impulse of every political movement which shook society in one country was felt in the other; and, however willing Great Britain might be to ignore the plots and revolutions of which Spain was the theatre, it was impossible to regard the internal disorders and external dangers of Portugal with equal indifference. For nearly two centuries Great Britain and Portugal had been on terms of the closest alliance. By a treaty of 1642 the sovereigns of the two countries had agreed "not to do or undertake anything, either by themselves or other persons, against one another, nor against their kingdoms, by sea or land, nor consent or adhere to any war, counsel, or treaty that may be to the prejudice of one or the other." By a secret article of a treaty of 1661 Great Britain agreed "to defend and protect all the conquests or colonies belonging to the Crown of Portugal against all its enemies, as well future as present."[2] Nothing, therefore, could have been closer than the alliance which existed between Portugal and Great Britain. No treaty, however, could have prevented the wave of revolution which

Portugal.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xii. p. 77. An account of Dennis's thunder will be found in the notes to the earlier editions of the *Dunciad*, book ii. line 226:—

"'Tis yours to shake the soul
With thunder rumbling from the mustard-bowl."

[2] These articles will be found commented on in a *note verbale* handed to Canning by the Portuguese ambassador. Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 194. See also ibid., p. 422.

was desolating Spain from beating on the adjacent shores of Portugal. The triumph of the Constitutionalists in the one country in 1820 had immediately provoked a Constitutional revolution in the other. The effects of the reaction which French intrigue and French arms had produced in Madrid were certain to be felt in Lisbon.

When the revolution of 1820 occurred, John VI., King of Portugal, was quietly ruling in his Transatlantic dominions of Brazil. Portugal had been governed for thirteen years from Rio de Janeiro, and the absence of the Court from Lisbon had offended the Portuguese and prepared them for change. After the mischief had been done, John VI. was persuaded to return to his native country, leaving his eldest son, Dom Pedro, Regent of Brazil in his absence. Before setting out on his journey he gave the prince public instructions for his guidance, which practically made Brazil independent of Portugal; and he added private directions to the prince, in case any emergency should arise which should make it impracticable to preserve Brazil for Portugal, to place the crown on his own head, and thus save the great Transatlantic territory for the House of Braganza.[1] Leaving these parting injunctions with his son, John VI. returned to the old kingdom which he had deserted nearly fourteen years before. He reached Lisbon, and found the Constitutionalists in undisputed possession of power. He found also that the action of the Constitutionalists in Portugal was calculated to induce Brazil to throw off the authority of the mother country. The Cortes in Portugal insisted on the suppression of the supreme tribunals in Brazil, on the establishment of Provincial Juntas, and on the return of the Regent to Portugal. The Brazilians declined to adopt measures which they considered ruinous to their dignity, and persuaded the Regent to disobey the orders of the Cortes. A small body of Portuguese troops quartered in Brazil endeavoured to overawe the prince,

The return of John VI. to Lisbon.

Brazil declared independent.

[1] For the public instructions see *State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 970. For the private instructions see Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. p. 195.

but proved powerless to do so. In May 1822 the prince was persuaded to declare himself Perpetual Defender of the Brazils. In the following September the Brazilians induced him to raise their country to the dignity of an empire, and to declare himself its constitutional emperor.

The news that the Brazilians had declared themselves an independent empire reached Europe at a critical period. Monarchs and diplomatists were busily deliberating at Verona on the affairs of Spain and of the Spanish colonies. No one, however, could avoid comparing the position of Portugal and Brazil with that of Spain and her dependencies. In Portugal, as in Spain, a revolution, promoted by the military classes, had led to the institution of a democratic Government. In Portugal, as in Spain, the sovereign had been compelled to assent to a state of things which he was powerless to resist, but which, it was certain, he disapproved. The Portuguese, like the Spaniards, had hitherto prided themselves on the rich colonial empire which they possessed in the New World. Like the Spaniards, they now saw themselves virtually deprived of their transatlantic possessions.

Effects of Spanish action on Portugal.

The evident determination of France to interfere in Spain created anxiety in Portugal. The Portuguese Cortes apprehended that the logical consequence of French interference in the one country was French interference in the other. It could not help reflecting that its power was due to the impulse which revolution in Spain had imparted to revolutionary principles. The position of a French army on the Spanish frontier roused the dormant spirits of the Portuguese Absolutists. In February 1823 an insurrection against the Constitution broke out in Northern Portugal. The insurgents, who in the first instance obtained considerable success, were with difficulty defeated. But the revolt had been hardly quelled before the Absolutists recovered their flagging spirits. Every step taken by the Duc d'Angoulême in his progress from the Bidassoa to Madrid raised their hopes of ultimate success. The king's second

Autocratic reaction in Portugal.

son, the notorious Dom Miguel, fled from his father's palace and threw in his lot with the insurgents. For a moment the king stood firm and denounced his son's proceedings. But the reaction which had set in was too strong to be resisted. The Cortes was closed, a new ministry appointed, and autocracy re-established in Portugal.[1]

The re-establishment of autocracy in Portugal marked the commencement of a series of intrigues in which this country was deeply interested. One party in the new Government, with M. de Palmella at its head, was disposed to incline to moderate measures and to listen to the advice which it received from the British ministry and from the British ambassador, Sir Edward Thornton. Another party, of which M. de Subsérra was the representative, was in favour of an intimate union with France, and ready to listen to the contrary counsels of M. de Neuville, the French minister at Lisbon. M. de Palmella, despairing of founding a settled form of government amidst the disorders which surrounded him on every side, applied to the British ministry for troops to give stability to the Administration. The demand arrived in London in July 1823. It occasioned the greatest possible embarrassment to the British ministry. The British ministry, on the one hand, could not afford to affront the Portuguese Government; on the other hand, it could hardly venture to allow British soldiers to interfere in the internal affairs of another country. Nor were the ministers themselves agreed on the subject. Wellington was prepared to risk the inconveniences which were attendant on complying with the demand, and to save Portugal from the influence of France. Liverpool, on the contrary, had a cautious dread of a policy which bore an unpleasant resemblance to the occupation of Naples and Piedmont by Austria; and Liverpool's arguments were aided by one very practical consideration. Whether it were desirable to send troops or not, it was unquestionable that

The Portuguese apply for British troops.

[1] For these events see *Ann. Reg.*, 1822, Hist., pp. 257-268; and 1823, Hist., pp. 211-217. *State Papers*, vol. ix. pp. 807-811; vol. x. pp. 69-78; and vol. xi. p. 852. Cf. Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. pp. 193-199.

there were no troops to send. Hume's retrenchments had stripped the country of all superfluous soldiery, and there was not a single regiment available for the service. This indisputable fact strengthened the reasons which Liverpool pleaded against a compliance with the Portuguese demand. A compromise, or, as Wellington put it, a half-measure, was resorted to. The demand for troops was refused, but a British squadron was sent to the Tagus, with a view of affording the King of Portugal the moral support of the British nation and a secure asylum in the event of any danger to his person.[1]

The revolution, headed by Dom Miguel, in 1824, fails.

Many months elapsed before the King of Portugal had occasion to avail himself of the possible asylum which was thus afforded to him. During the interval, under the advice of M. de Palmella, he pursued a moderate course, and paved the way for the restoration of a Constitutional Government. M. de Palmella's policy,[2] however, alarmed the Portuguese Absolutists. Ever since the revolution of 1823 Dom Miguel had held the command of the army; and, on the night of the 29th April 1824, the prince suddenly ordered the arrest of the leading personages of the Government, and called on the army to liberate the king, and to complete the triumph of the previous year. For nine days the king was a mere puppet in the hands of his son, and Dom Miguel was virtually master of Lisbon. On the 9th of May the king was persuaded by the foreign ministers in his capital to resume his authority; to retire on board the *Windsor Castle*, a British man-of-war; to dismiss Dom Miguel from his command, and to order his attendance upon him. The prince, "stricken with a sudden fatuity," obeyed his father's commands, and was prevailed upon to go into voluntary exile. The revolution of 1824 terminated with his departure, and Portugal again enjoyed comparative tranquillity.[3]

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. pp. 110–115. Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. p. 205.

[2] *Canning*, vol. ii. p. 206.

[3] *Ann. Reg.*, 1824, Hist., p. 181. *State Papers*, vol. xi. pp. 852–860 Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. pp. 210–223.

With the return of tranquillity in Portugal the struggle recommenced between M. de Subsérra and the French interest on the one side, and M. de Palmella and the English interest on the other. The recent disturbances which had agitated Portugal made it impossible for the king to place any firm reliance on the fidelity of the Portuguese army. Distrusting his own troops, he had applied in 1823 for a British force, and had received a British squadron. Still distrusting his own troops in 1824, he was prevailed upon by M. de Subsérra to renew his application. Subsérra, indeed, had no desire to see a single British regiment in Lisbon; his main object was to introduce a French garrison into that capital; and he only applied to Great Britain because he fancied that the application was certain to be refused, and that after its refusal Great Britain would have no right to object to Portugal receiving from France the aid which the British ministry was either unwilling or unable to afford her. The real object of the intrigue was detected by the British ministry; and, with the possibility of French intervention before it, the Cabinet hesitated to refuse Subsérra's application. But it was almost as difficult to comply with the request of the Portuguese Government as it was embarrassing to refuse it. The British army was a little stronger than it had been in 1823, but its strength was only barely sufficient for the discharge of its numerous duties in every portion of the globe. An expedition could not be sent to Portugal without some communication to Parliament; and it was very doubtful whether Parliament would approve the employment of British troops in a foreign country. Impressed with the force of these difficulties, the ministry hesitated to adopt the proposal of the Portuguese Government. But, while deciding against the despatch of a British force, it found other means of complying with the Portuguese demand. George IV. was not only king of Britain; he was also king of Hanover; and as king of Hanover he could send Hanoverian troops to Portugal without provoking any debate in the British Parliament. The king was, therefore, advised to apply to his

Renewed application for troops from Portugal.

Hanoverian ministry and obtain their concurrence in a measure which seemed, on the whole, to present the fewest objections. Fortunately, the news of the application oozed out in diplomatic circles. The French Government, seriously alarmed at the prospect of either Hanoverian or British troops in the Peninsula, sought for an explanation from Canning. Canning had the dexterity to elicit a written declaration that French troops should under no circumstances whatever enter Portugal. This declaration removed the danger which had confronted the Cabinet. The application to the Hanoverian ministry for assistance was at once withdrawn, and Portugal was left to work out its political regeneration without the intervention of foreign soldiery.[1]

Fresh negotiations between Portugal and Brazil.

M. de Subsérra's influence did not long survive the failure of this application. Ever since the return of John VI. to Portugal the British ministry had been anxiously endeavouring to accomplish some agreement between Portugal and Brazil; but all Canning's arguments and all his influence had been powerless to effect any satisfactory arrangement. During the whole of 1822 and 1823 the matter remained in this state. Early in 1824 the chances of a reconciliation seemed a little more hopeful. The Brazilian Government decided on sending a Brazilian plenipotentiary to London to communicate with Canning and the Portuguese ambassador to the British Court. The first discussions between the Portuguese minister in London and the Brazilian plenipotentiary did not offer much prospect of a settlement. The Brazilians demanded independence, the Portuguese sovereignty; "and these two words, reciprocally interchanged, constituted the substance of what passed, and prevented any progress being made towards a settlement." Canning, desirous of helping the negotiators out of their dilemma, undertook to prepare a treaty of reconciliation. His project, which recognised the independence of Brazil, was at once accepted by the Brazilian plenipotentiary and rejected by

[1] The intrigue is related in Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. pp. 230–236. Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. pp. 276, 281.

the Portuguese ambassador. Canning thereupon undertook the task of forwarding it to Lisbon. The Portuguese ministry replied with a counter-proposal which contemplated the king of Portugal becoming senior Emperor of Brazil. Canning at once perceived the difficulty of persuading the Brazilian plenipotentiary to listen to this demand; but, for the moment, he laboured diligently and successfully to prevent the Conference being broken up upon it. His success was only temporary. He was suddenly startled at discovering that the Portuguese Government, without acquainting the British ministry, without acquainting the Austrian ambassador, without even acquainting the Portuguese ambassador at London, had communicated the counter-proposal direct to the Brazilian Government. Irritated at this strange proceeding, in which he detected Subsérra's influence, Canning at once told the Portuguese Government that it must take its choice between England and France, and that while M. de Subsérra remained in office there could be no good understanding between England and Portugal. The bold language of the British minister fulfilled its purpose. M. de Subsérra was, within a month, removed from the ministry. M. de Neuville, the French ambassador at Lisbon, who had influenced M. de Subsérra's policy, was, at Canning's instigation, recalled; and, after a struggle which had lasted for nearly two years, British counsels regained their customary ascendancy in the Portuguese Court.[1]

Canning decisively establishes his influence at Lisbon.

It was impossible, however, to leave the Brazilian question in its existing condition. The British ministry had at last decided on the recognition of the Spanish colonies; and every argument which suggested the recognition of Mexico, Columbia, and Buenos Ayres told with tenfold force in favour of the recognition of Brazil. Brazil had achieved as complete an independence as Buenos Ayres. She had a far more settled government than any of the Spanish colonies. If Portugal, therefore, hesitated to

Portugal recognises Brazilian independence.

[1] The history of these intrigues is fully related in Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. pp. 243, 284–343.

acknowledge the separate political independence of Brazil, it would be almost impossible for Great Britain to avoid recognising the Brazilian Empire. Even in the case of Spain, which was under the influence of France, Canning had desired to allow the mother country the grace of initiating the policy of recognition. He was much more anxious to do so in the case of Portugal, the oldest and firmest ally of Great Britain. He decided, therefore, on making one more effort with this view.

Sir Charles Stuart had just been recalled from his embassy at Paris. He had been offered the Governorship of Madras, a situation which he affected to believe was beneath his merits, and was, therefore, at the moment without employment. Canning decided on sending him on a special mission to Brazil, empowering him to proceed on his way by Lisbon, in order that he might inform himself of the exact opinions of the Portuguese Government. Stuart was to endeavour to induce the King of Portugal to cede legislative independence to Brazil, to confirm to Dom Pedro the royal authority which he indisputably exercised, and to reserve to himself only his own private property and his own titles and dignities. The Portuguese ministry was not, however, prepared to adopt the advice which was thus given. It still adhered to the determination that John VI. should assume the title of Emperor of Brazil, and in that capacity accept Dom Pedro as his associate in the Empire.[1] Dom Pedro, on the contrary, as Sir Charles Stuart found on his arrival at Rio de Janeiro, could agree to no terms which gave his father a share in the Government. He suggested, as a possible way out of the difficulty, that John VI. should abdicate the sovereignty of Brazil, should retain during his own life the Imperial title, but recognise his son as Emperor. This suggestion ultimately afforded the required solution; the arrangement of other and more substantial matters was easily settled; and on the 29th of August 1825 a treaty was signed between Portugal and

1 Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. pp. 333-342. The English proposal was apparently made on the advice of the Duke of Wellington. See Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 420.

Brazil by which the independence of Brazil was formally recognised.[1]

The recognition of Brazil relieved the British ministry from a great difficulty. All its objects with respect to Portugal were accomplished, and the influence of Great Britain was predominant both at Lisbon and at Rio de Janeiro. Hardly six months, however, passed after the conclusion of the treaty—"the ink with which this agreement was written was scarcely dry—when the unexpected death of the King of Portugal reunited on the same head the two crowns which it had been the policy of England as well as of Portugal and Brazil to separate."[2] The Emperor of Brazil was undisputed heir to the throne of Portugal; but the union of the two crowns was not likely to be acceptable to the people of either nation. On the one hand, the Brazilians would not submit to be governed from Lisbon; on the other, Portuguese pride would revolt against the renewed experiment of an absent Court. John VI., during his last illness, had made a temporary provision for the Government. He had appointed a Regency; and placed his own daughter, the Infanta Isabella, at the head of it. Dom Miguel, the brother of the Regent, an exile in Vienna, sent his sister a promise that he would respect this provisional arrangement, and the Regency was accordingly installed without any serious opposition.

Death of John VI.

The news of the death of King John reached Brazil on the 24th of April. Without waiting for the advice, which the British ministry hurriedly sent to him, Dom Pedro had the wisdom to resist the temptation of reuniting the possessions of the House of Braganza in his own person. He accordingly abdicated the crown of Portugal in the hour in which it was offered to him. In refusing the throne of Portugal, however, he naturally desired to secure it for one of his own children. Donna Maria, his eldest daughter, whom he selected for the throne, was only seven years old. It was, therefore, necessary to make some

Dom Pedro abdicates in favour of Donna Maria.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. xii. p. 674. Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. p. 354.
[2] Canning in House of Commons (*Hansard*, New Series, vol. xvi. p. 362).

provision for the conduct of the Government during her minority; and Dom Pedro, in consequence, confirmed his sister, Isabella, in the Regency to which her father had appointed her. To smooth the way for his daughter's reign, he endeavoured to conciliate the Portuguese by conferring a Constitution on Portugal. To remove the most obvious danger which beset her path, he arranged that she should immediately be betrothed to her uncle, his brother, Dom Miguel. Political necessity reconciles upright men to the least justifiable arrangements. The unnatural alliance which Dom Pedro contemplated for his daughter was concurrently advocated by the British ministry.

The arrangements which were thus made might seem satisfactory to bystanders, but they were not acceptable to those who were most immediately concerned in them. Dom Miguel could hardly be expected to await with patience his eventual union with a little girl of seven. The Portuguese, who favoured his views, were certain to desire his earlier association in the Government. By Dom Pedro's Constitution, moreover, every person was excluded from the Regency who had not completed the twenty-fifth year of his age. Dom Miguel was only twenty-four; and he was, therefore, ineligible for the post. But the Constitution left it doubtful whether Dom Miguel, on attaining his majority, would be entitled to supersede his sister as Regent of the kingdom. The Portuguese army, the section of the Portuguese nation which shared his extreme views, were encouraged by the Constitution to regard him as their eventual ruler and their present champion. Troubles soon broke out in Portugal. Regiments deserted and crossed the frontier; and the Spanish Government, glad to encourage Absolutism, openly connived at these desertions. The matter assumed such serious proportions, that Canning, in October, without even consulting the Cabinet, directed the British minister to withdraw from Madrid in case the Spanish Government should not give up the arms of the deserters. The Cabinet found itself, without any warning, on the eve of war with Spain. Fortunately for Britain, the Court of

Reaction in Portugal.

Madrid was afraid to risk the consequences of an open rupture, and gave way. But though it gave way, and was prodigal in its promises, it continued to encourage the spread of disaffection in Portugal, and to afford protection to the refugees and deserters who crossed from Portugal into Spain. These deserters, gradually increasing into a considerable force, openly proclaimed Dom Miguel their king, and as openly prepared for the invasion of Portugal from Spain. Forgetful of their promises to Britain, mindful only of their hatred of constitutional government, relying on the tacit approval of France, and on the open favour of Austria,[1] the Spaniards took no steps to enforce respect to their own neutrality. It was even hinted that Spanish officers and Spanish money were placed at the disposal of the rebel regiments. The Portuguese Regency, seriously alarmed, appealed to Britain, through its ambassador in London, to redeem her numerous engagements, and to assist to repel what was to all intents and purposes a Spanish invasion.

The threatened invasion from Spain.

The application of the Portuguese ambassador was made on the 3rd of December.[2] The British ministry immediately replied that, whatever rumours might have reached this country on the subject, no accurate information respecting the Spanish invasion had been received, and that, without a more precise acquaintance with the facts, it was unable to do anything. On the following Friday the information which the ministry thus awaited arrived. "On Saturday," to quote Canning's proud words in the House of Commons, "the Cabinet came to a decision. On Sunday that decision received the sanction of his Majesty. On Monday it was communicated to both Houses of Parliament"—which were fortunately sitting—"and on this day (Tuesday), sir, at the hour in which I have the honour of addressing you, the troops are on their march for embarkation." [3]

Despatch of British troops to Portugal.

[1] See Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. pp. 376, 382, 385, 412–419, 430, 439, 457.

[2] It will be found in *State Papers*, vol. xiii. p. 1116.

[3] Canning, as a matter of fact, would have acted on the 3rd, without waiting for the fuller information. (See his letter to Lord Liverpool, Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 473.)

Canning's declaration of policy.

The speech in which Canning thus announced the decision of the British ministry was perhaps the most brilliant which he ever made. He began by tracing the various engagements which Britain had made with Portugal to prove that "adherence to the national faith and regard to the national honour" left the Government no alternative. He proceeded to explain the steps which the Cabinet had taken to assist the Portuguese, and to dispose of the petty quibbling that an invasion of Portugal from Spain was not a Spanish invasion. Alluding to the indirect support which Spain might receive from France, he emphatically declared that "it is our duty to fly to the defence of Portugal, be the assailant who he may;" and he found in the autocracy of Spain and the freer atmosphere of Portugal fresh reasons for the course which he was pursuing. The war which Spain is waging against Portugal, he proceeded, is "a war which has commenced in hatred of the new institutions of Portugal. If into that war this country should be compelled to enter, I much fear that she could not in such case avoid seeing ranked under her banners all the restless and dissatisfied of any nation with which she might come in conflict. It is the contemplation of this new power in any future war which excites my utmost apprehension. It is one thing to have a giant's strength, but it would be another to use it like a giant. The consciousness of such strength is undoubtedly a source of confidence and security; but, in the situation in which this country stands, our business is not to seek opportunities of displaying it, but to content ourselves with making the professors of violent and exaggerated doctrines on both sides feel that it is not their interest to convert an umpire into an adversary." The House rang with cheers as the orator proceeded. But the heartiest cheering, it was noticed, came from the Opposition benches. Never before had the principles of the Holy Alliance received so crushing a rebuke; never before had England so plainly ranged herself on the side of the Liberal element which was revolutionising

mankind. "I was certainly," said Brougham, in a passage which was almost as much admired as Canning's speech, "I was certainly one of those who held, some years ago, that we were under severe recognisances to keep the peace. I know the severity of the burthens under which this country labours; but if I feel their weight, if I feel apprehensive (as who must not?) of their effect in case this most necessary measure should unhappily fail, I cannot but rely on those sound, enlightened, liberal, and truly English principles—principles worthy of our best times and of our most distinguished statesmen—which now govern this country in her foreign policy, and inspire the eloquence of the Right Honourable Secretary with a degree of fervour, energy, and effect extraordinary and unprecedented in this House — unprecedented (I can give it no higher praise) even in the eloquence of the Right Honourable gentleman."[1] The bold language and decided action of the British ministry were attended with satisfactory results. Within a fortnight of Canning's speech the first contingent of British troops entered the Tagus. The Spanish Government hastened to fulfil its forgotten promises. The French Government assured the Spaniards that they must expect no assistance from France. The disaffected among the Portuguese were discouraged by these proceedings; the well-affected derived confidence from the open support of Great Britain; and a crisis which had, at one moment, threatened to let loose the dogs of war on Western Europe passed away as rapidly as it had arisen.

His success.

In Western Europe, then, a firm and consistent policy had been rewarded by a gratifying success. French troops still occupied the Spanish kingdom. But the Spain in which France had thus regained her predominance was the Spain without the Indies to which Canning had reduced it. In Portugal a constitutional government had been established by the Regent, and the presence of British troops had averted the dangers arising from the distractions of the

[1] *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xvi. pp. 343–398. Cf. Lord Bathurst's opinion, Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 514.

State and the attitude of neighbouring nations. The affairs of Eastern Europe, however, still remained in the perplexed and perplexing condition into which the Greek insurrection had originally thrown them. Every day that passed increased the complications which surrounded this question. In the summer of 1821, the differences between Russia and the Porte were susceptible of a comparatively easy solution. Russia, relying on the right which she had gained in the previous century at Kainardji, had simply insisted on the redress of the grievances of the Greeks, and on her own co-operation in the pacification of Wallachia and Moldavia. The failure of the Porte to comply with these demands within a specified time had led to the withdrawal of the Russian ambassador from Constantinople, and to the cessation of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The Czar, however, whose hatred of revolution exceeded his hereditary hatred of the Turk, shrank from the responsibility of following up the withdrawal of his ambassador by a declaration of war. The Austrian internuncio and the British minister at Constantinople were encouraged by him to continue the negotiations at the point at which Von Strogonoff's departure had interrupted them. In consequence of their exertions, the Porte, in the summer of 1822, was induced to give orders for the evacuation of the Principalities and to appoint two native Boyards to the government of those provinces. As the Turks were ready to promise merciful treatment to the insurgent Greeks, the original causes of difference between Turkey and Russia were practically removed.[1]

Turkey.

But in the meanwhile fresh differences had arisen between Russia and the Porte. The navigation of the Black Sea was in theory confined only to those nations, England, France, and Russia,[2] which had secured a right to it under express treaties; but in practice any vessel which chose to hoist the flag of one of these powers concurrently enjoyed the right. The privilege was, perhaps

The navigation of the Black Sea.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ix. pp. 659-673; Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. i. p. 192.
[2] Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. i. p. 210.

naturally, abused. Greek vessels in insurrection against the Porte passed the Dardanelles under foreign colours; and the Porte consequently thought it necessary, in its own protection, to direct that all merchant vessels passing Constantinople should be searched. The order struck a fatal blow at the growing trade of Odessa, which was carried on principally in Greek vessels, or in foreign vessels under the Russian flag.[1] It subjected every grain vessel from every Russian port in the Black Sea to a humiliating ordeal, which became the more painful when some vessels carrying the Russian flag were seized. The Russian Government insisted that the Porte should either allow the vessels of all countries to pass the Dardanelles, or that it should at least respect the Russian flag.[2] Prudent bystanders could not, however, avoid perceiving in these fresh complications the increasing difficulty attending any arrangement between Russia and the Porte. The action of the Porte had raised a quarrel, which had originally only reference to the Greeks, into a dispute which intimately affected the honour and welfare of Russia.

Such was the position of the Eastern question at the period when the Congress of Verona assembled. Lord Strangford, the British minister at Constantinople, attended the preliminary sittings of the Congress, and brought with him the *précis* of a conference which he had held with the Turkish ministers. It appeared from this paper that the Turkish ministers had met Strangford's demands for a more humane treatment of the Greeks with the retort that the insurrection in Greece was due to Russian agents. The Czar was annoyed at this accusation. He thought that Strangford had failed sufficiently to repel the charge; and he was with difficulty pacified by Wellington.[3] The Duke, however, ultimately succeeded in persuading him that Strangford had possessed no means of meeting the charge concerning Russian agents, and in inducing him to place the further conduct of the negotiation in Strangford's hands. Strangford

Lord Strangford's negotiation with the Porte.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 855.
[2] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. i. p. 526.
[3] Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. i. p. 202. Wellington *Despatches*, vol. i. p. 350.

was told that there were three points which the Czar was anxious to secure, and which the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers considered reasonable. The first of these demands related to the pacification of Greece, and required that the action of the Porte towards the Greeks should correspond with its promises. In the second of them the Russian Government insisted on a letter from the Porte announcing the evacuation of the Principalities. The third of them required the adjustment of the commercial question respecting the navigation of the Black Sea.[1]

With these instructions Strangford returned to his post at Constantinople in the commencement of 1823. He induced the Turkish Government to comply with the second of the Russian demands, and to write a civil letter announcing the appointment of Hospodars in Wallachia and Moldavia, and the order for the evacuation of those provinces. But, though the letter was written, the temper in which it was despatched from the Porte, and the reply which it drew from St. Petersburg, augured ill for the successful conclusion of the negotiation. The Porte, on its side, was with difficulty dissuaded from appending to its despatch an angry statement of its own demands upon Russia. The Russian Government, in its reply, entered into a detailed statement of its commercial grievances; demanded that a still further reduction should be made in the number of Turkish troops remaining in the Principalities; and declared that a new source of complaint had arisen in the arrest, without any trial and without any right, of one Vellara or Villaru, a Wallachian Boyard, who had been seized, in the spring of the year, in the middle of Bucharest by a Turkish officer.[2]

The Turkish letter to the Porte was despatched on the 28th

[1] The protocols will be found in Wellington *Despatches*, vol. i. pp. 598–604; Lord Strangford's own account in ibid., vol. ii. p. 470.

[2] The Turkish demands were twofold:—1. The surrender by Russia of some insurgent chieftains who had taken refuge on Russian territory. 2. The cession by Russia of some fortresses on the Asiatic frontier, in accordance with the stipulations of the Treaty of Bucharest. (See, for Lord Strangford's difficulty in persuading the Porte to yield, Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. pp. 378, 387.) Count Nesselrode's reply will be found in *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 851.

of February. The Russian reply did not reach the British minister at Constantinople till the 4th of July.[1] It must have excited in Strangford's heart the feeling of despair which every pedestrian has experienced in scaling a hill. At each round of the road the summit apparently stands out clear before him on the horizon, and only one more rising upland has to be scaled, and the end will be won. When, however, the wished-for point has been gained, the pedestrian discovers that the swelling eminence has concealed from him another height still higher than that on which he stands, to be attained with the same struggle, and to furnish the same disappointment as the last. So was it with Strangford and the negotiation with the Porte. Every successive difficulty which was removed was succeeded by some fresh complaint. Every ray of light on the horizon was obscured by some fresh and unexpected obstacle. Strangford, however, did not abandon the task which he had undertaken to perform. He had succeeded in gaining one of the three ends which had been placed before him at Verona. He proceeded to induce the Porte to give way on the commercial question. His success here was again complete. The Porte consented to the appointment of a mixed commission, charged with the duty of examining and redressing the various grievances to which Russian trade was exposed. It signed a treaty with Sardinia allowing the flag of that power a passage through the Bosphorus, and permitting the vessels of other nations to pass under its protection. Strangford had the satisfaction of announcing these concessions to the Russian Government on the 22nd of September 1823, and the Russian Government, pleased at the announcement, promised to send M. de Minciacky to Constantinople as its *chargé d'affaires*, to superintend the interests of Russian trade and navigation in Turkey.[2]

His difficulties.

1 So distinctly says Lord Strangford (Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 474), and he is corroborated by Mr. Stapleton in *Canning*, vol. ii. p. 382. The reply was dated $\frac{7}{19}$ May 1823. *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 851.

2 Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 475. *Canning*, vol. ii. p. 363. The treaty with Sardinia will be found in *State Papers*, vol. xii. p. 915.

Strangford had thus succeeded in reaching a fresh eminence in the road he was ascending. He had attained two of the objects which he had set out from Verona to obtain. The Russian Government was full of acknowledgments for the services which he had rendered; but amidst all his successes the summit of the road seemed as distant as ever. Nesselrode, in thanking him for his services, besought him to complete his good work by effecting the perfect evacuation of the Principalities, and by procuring the release of the Boyard Vellara. The second of these requests Strangford immediately undertook to attend to; and in this point, too, his exertions were rewarded with success. Vellara was not only released, but received a free pardon. Strangford, however, declined to urge the Porte to comply with the first request for the evacuation of the Principalities unless he should receive a distinct assurance that "this was to be positively the last of the Russian pretensions." The assurance which he expected was duly given to him. In December 1823 the British minister at St. Petersburg, Sir C. Bagot, received the authority of the Czar to say that, so soon as the Principalities should be fairly restored to that state, in so much as regarded their occupation by Turkish troops, in which they were previously to the breaking out of the late troubles, his Imperial Majesty would engage to send his minister to the Porte, and to renew his ancient diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Government." This promise encouraged Strangford to make one more appeal to the Porte. The Porte undertook to reduce by one-half the small number of troops which it still retained in the Provinces; and, as all the authorities agreed in stating that "such a reduction would render the number to remain in the Provinces even less than that of the troops cantoned there in ordinary times," Strangford closed with the Turkish offer, and acquainted the Russian Government with his success in the negotiation entrusted to him. In redemption of its promise, the Russian Government issued an ukase appointing M. de Ribeaupierre Plenipotentiary at the Porte. The summit of the hill was thus apparently attained at last, and Strangford retired from Con-

His success.

stantinople on leave amidst the congratulations of his friends, and was rewarded for his labours by being raised to the English Peerage.[1]

Strangford had reason to congratulate himself on the successful issue of his protracted labours; but the British Government and the Porte were already inclined to suspect the good faith of the Czar. So long as the Greeks were able to continue their struggle with the Porte on equal terms, the Czar could afford to stand by and watch the progress of the contest. But the deep sympathy which the Greek cause excited among his own people was almost certain to force him to interfere on the first symptoms of Greek exhaustion. During the whole of 1822 and 1823 the Greek cause prospered. The Greeks at sea maintained an undoubted superiority over the Turks. They compelled the Turks to withdraw from the Morea, to raise the siege of Missolonghi, and to surrender the town of Napoli di Romania. The cause of the Greeks was promoted by other dangers which threatened the Porte. The Persians were invading its Asiatic dominions. The Janissaries, its most trusted troops, were in open mutiny. The very forces of Nature seemed in league with the enemies of the House of Othman, and whole streets in Aleppo and Antioch were swallowed up by a dreadful earthquake. Encouraged by their own successes and their enemy's misfortunes, the Greeks persevered in their gallant struggle for independence. Their perseverance and gallantry awakened an enthusiastic sympathy with their cause among other nations. The British Government, especially, was induced to recognise the *bonâ fide* blockade of Turkish harbours by Greek vessels; a subscription for the Greeks was raised in London; and British subjects, roused into enthusiasm by the incidents of the struggle, voluntarily enlisted in the ranks of the insurgents.

Enthusiasm in Europe for the Greeks.

It was natural that the sympathy which the Greek cause excited in England should be shared by the Russian people. Russia and Greece had long been drawn together by the ties

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. pp. 309, 476. Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. pp. 396–404.

of a common faith and a common hatred of a common enemy. Russia, moreover, had acquired a treaty right to consider herself the protector of the Grecian people. The Russian nation, therefore, thought that both its interests and its honour demanded its interference in the Grecian cause. Nothing but the attitude of the Czar restrained it from interfering. Alexander, bent on suppressing revolution in Spain and Italy, hesitated to commit himself to a support of rebellion in Greece, and stubbornly refused to draw the sword. The strong feeling of his people, however, compelled him to do something; and, in the autumn of 1823, he met the Emperor of Austria at Czernowitz, for the purpose of determining some common course of action. Alexander was accompanied by Nesselrode, Francis by Metternich, and the two autocrats agreed on attempting to mediate between Greek and Turk.

Russian proposal for an arrangement.

Nesselrode, on his return to Petersburg, drew up a memorandum on the subject. The memorandum, which was confidentially communicated to the ministers of the allied powers at Petersburg, suggested the division of Greece into three Principalities, paying a tribute to the Porte, as its nominal sovereign; governed by natives; enjoying free trade; entitled to the use of their own flag; and represented at the Porte by the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Porte, on its side—so the Russian memorandum suggested—might be permitted to retain a garrison in a certain number of fortresses; but the troops should be bound to provide themselves with their supplies without moving beyond a certain distance from the forts.

The memorandum was forwarded by the British ambassador at St. Petersburg to the Foreign Office. Canning thought that there was nothing in what he termed "the practical part" of it which might not be made the subject "of fair and useful deliberation;" but its preliminary sentences excited his surprise. Nesselrode alluded in them to the promise of the Russian Government to send a minister to Constantinople so soon as the Black Sea question was finally decided and the Danubian Principalities were completely evacuated. The

Czar, so Nesselrode went on, still adhered to his promise; but he thought it his duty to observe that a Russian minister would renew his relations with the Porte under unhappy auguries for the future if, at the time of his arrival, the affairs of Greece were still undecided. Canning saw in this sentence a clear avowal of the wish, which he had previously suspected to exist, "to interpose the discussion upon Greece before the establishment of the Russian mission." Wellington, to whom he disclosed his suspicions, could not bring himself to believe that the Czar intended to break his word. The possibility of such a result, however, was not lost sight of by the Cabinet; and Canning accordingly expressed his concurrence in the Russian memorandum, and his readiness to enter into conference with the allies upon it so soon as the Russian Government should have announced its readiness to interpose, in the spirit of its treaty rights and in the character of a friendly power, by sending a minister to Constantinople.[1]

Canning's conditional assent to a conference upon it.

The Russian Government, after receiving Canning's reply, was extremely anxious for the assembly of the Conference. The Russian minister at London continually called on Canning, and urged him at once to enter upon it. Canning consistently refused to do so till the Russian mission at Constantinople had been re-established. In the course of June, however, the long negotiation between the Porte and Strangford was finally concluded; and Bagot, the British minister at St. Petersburg, persuaded himself that the Czar was earnest in his intention to despatch a minister without delay to the Porte. In these circumstances, he satisfied himself that Canning's condition was practically fulfilled, and accordingly consented to take part in the preliminary sittings of the Conference. Bagot, in doing so, disobeyed the letter and mistook the spirit of his instructions. Canning, intensely annoyed at the mistake, disavowed the proceedings of the minister, and gave him a good

[1] The Russian *Mémoire* will be found in full in *State Papers*, vol. xi. p. 819; Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. pp. 395–419; and Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. pp. 197, 203.

snubbing.[1] Bagot's mistake was the more embarrassing from the circumstance that the Russian memorandum, which had hitherto been kept private, was suddenly published in the columns of the *Constitutionnel*. Greek and Turk became, in consequence, acquainted with the terms of the pacification which was preparing for them. The Greeks, who had not yet sustained any serious reverses, declared that death itself was preferable to the Russian terms. The Turks, violently opposed to intervention, considered that they were betrayed, and that Russia had no intention of fulfilling her promise of sending an ambassador to Constantinople. Impressed with these fears, they postponed the completion of their own portion of the arrangement, and delayed the withdrawal of their troops from the Principalities.[2]

The publication of the Russian memorandum.

The end of the long journey which Strangford had been painfully pursuing was now farther off than ever. At the moment at which the summit of the hill had apparently been definitely gained, a new obstacle, higher and more difficult than the last, rose on the horizon. The St. Petersburg Conference, from which the British Government withdrew, collapsed without deciding anything; and Russia still delayed sending an ambassador to the Porte, denying, on the one hand, her positive engagement to do so, and pleading, on the other, the neglect of the Porte to fulfil its own promises.

Collapse of the Conference.

In the meanwhile the cause of Greece was gradually exciting a deeper anxiety among its friends. Up to the close of 1823, Greece, alone and unaided, had proved able to maintain herself against the Porte. But towards the close of 1823 the confidence which had resulted from success dissolved the bonds which had previously united every Greek in a common cause. Dissensions, with difficulty allayed, paralysed the exertions of the nation at the moment at which the Porte resolved on making fresh efforts to crush

The success of the Greeks.

[1] Mr. Stapleton is very tender to Sir C. Bagot. See his account, *Canning*, vol. ii. pp. 419 423. For Canning's snubbing see Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 340.

[2] Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. pp. 419–424.

the rebellion. Mehemet Ali, Pacha of Egypt, had succeeded in modelling an army on the European model, and the Porte decided on applying to him for assistance in its difficulty. The Sultan promised, if Mehemet would suppress the rebellion, to add Greece to his Pachalate. Thus tempted, Mehemet Ali placed a force at the disposal of the Turks, and allowed his own stepson, Ibrahim Pacha, to take the command of it. During the whole of 1824 the assistance of the Egyptians proved of little consequence. The island of Ipsara, in the immediate neighbourhood of Scio, was, indeed, taken from the Greeks after a memorable struggle; but in other quarters the Turks sustained serious reverses. Their finest vessels were destroyed by Greek fire-ships; their most comprehensive plans were disconcerted by the bravery and skill of the Greek sailors; and the world saw with surprise that a little country, without any settled government, with few internal resources, and with little external assistance, was able to contend on equal terms with the mighty power of the Mohammedan Empire.

The Porte, however, did not despair of ultimate success. It decided in 1825 on making greater efforts than ever for the subjection of the insurgents. With this view the Sultan's own army was directed to invade Greece from the north, while Ibrahim Pacha simultaneously attempted a descent on the south-west of the Morea. Evading the Greek fleet, Ibrahim successfully landed at Modon, where the Turks still retained a garrison. He at once pushed on to the summit of the range of hills which look down upon Navarino. The adjacent island of Sphacteria was taken by him in May. A few days afterwards Navarino capitulated to the Egyptian commander. Ibrahim, marching into the heart of the Morea, proved the superiority of his own troops to the half-trained battalions opposed to them; and, free from all danger to his own arms, was enabled to lend a helping hand to the Turkish army, which, in the north-west of Greece, was engaged in besieging Missolonghi.

The struggle assumes a new phase in 1825.

The town of Missolonghi lies at the north-west of Greece, near the entrance to the Gulf of Lepanto. Built on a marshy

plain, it is capable of considerable defence, and it had already successfully resisted a Turkish siege. Its importance to the Greek cause had been recognised from the earliest period of the struggle. It was to Missolonghi that Byron repaired when he devoted himself to Greece. It was at Missolonghi that he caught the fatal fever of which he died. In April 1825 Redschid Pacha, who commanded the Turkish army of the north, appeared before the town. In the following month the memorable siege began which arrested the attention and excited the sympathy of all Europe. By sea and by land both sides made the greatest efforts to ensure the success of their cause. The Turkish soldiers pushed their parallels with unceasing energy towards the town, and threw themselves at their commander's bidding with admirable gallantry on the Grecian ramparts. But the Greeks met the assault with equal valour. Redschid Pacha, his army dwindled by repeated losses into impotence, was compelled to refrain from further efforts. The Greek fire-ships, throwing themselves on the Turkish squadron, forced the Ottoman fleet to withdraw from its position; and the bravery of the garrison seemed on the eve of its reward. The successes which Ibrahim Pacha had, however, achieved in the Morea placed a new and more powerful force at the disposal of the besiegers. Ibrahim Pacha, reinforced from Egypt, appeared before Missolonghi in the course of November. The siege, which had already lasted for more than half a year, was renewed with redoubled vigour. Once more the Greek fleet threw itself on the Turkish squadron, and endeavoured to drive it from its position before the town. Once more the devoted garrison repulsed the assaults which Ibrahim made on the defences. The Turkish ships, however, momentarily driven from their posts, returned again in overwhelming force. The Egyptian commander, disconcerted in his direct attacks, drew his approaches closer than ever round the town. The besiegers, secure in their communications, waited patiently within their lines; the besieged, worn out with famine and toil, saw the inevitable end coming nearer and nearer. A

Missolonghi.

Its siege and fall.

final sortie of the entire garrison, suggested by despair, failed in its object. The Turkish troops rushed into the defenceless town, and made themselves masters of it. Three or four thousand women and children, the survivors of the siege, were swept into slavery. The men who had not perished in actual fighting were massacred in the streets.

The Greek cause had now passed through all the phases which were calculated to excite the sympathy of the world. The unexpected success, which had attended their earlier operations, had won for the Greeks the respect of Europe. Men who could contend on equal terms with the whole power of Mohammed seemed entitled to independence. But if their earlier successes excited admiration, their later reverses awakened unbounded sympathy. The brave Christian nation, which had been on the eve of acquiring its independence, was being crushed by an irresistible force of Asiatic and African soldiers. The sympathy of England had always been given to brave men struggling for freedom; and neither a traditional alliance with Turkey, nor jealousy of Russian influence in Greece, could subdue the admiration which was everywhere expressed for the Greeks.[1] The British Government, to a certain extent, shared the feelings of the nation; and Canning, in particular, excited the anxiety of his colleagues by his evident desire "to take a part for the Greeks."[2] Whatever Canning's feeling may have been, however, he observed a strict neutrality. The Greeks were recognised as belligerents, but as belligerents only; and strict orders were issued to the British fleet to

Sympathy with the Greeks in Britain.

[1] It is humiliating to an Englishman to be compelled to add that the Philhellenes in this country had a keen eye for the main chance. Lord Cochrane, who had returned from South America, was willing to place his services at the disposal of the Greeks, on being assured a very large sum of money and an adequate armament. The Greek Committee undertook to raise the necessary amount, but the sum raised as a loan was grossly misapplied. Those who are curious to read an account of the discreditable conduct of English gentlemen will find the particulars in the *Annual Register*, 1826, Hist., pp. 374–376. Cf. Moore's attack on Hume, one of the trustees of the loan, in "The Two Bondsmen."

[2] See a letter from Lord Bathurst to Duke of Wellington (Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. pp. 402, 408).

abstain from any act of interference in the war, and to confine itself to the protection of British interests and British vessels.[1]

The Cabinet had good cause for anxiety. Canning hardly attempted to conceal his sympathy with Greece. The Greeks themselves, painfully conscious of their own approaching subjection, decided in their distress to appeal to the only power who seemed competent to help them. Russia was paralysed by divided and irreconcilable feelings—its distrust of rebellion on the one hand, its hatred of Turkey on the other. Austria was applying to Greece the principles which she had enunciated at Laybach, and denying that insurrection "by any duration or any successes could ever grow into legitimate war."[2] One nation alone had throughout the contest maintained an impartial neutrality; and, in that country, public opinion and private aid had been freely given to the Greeks. The Greeks, in despair of defeating Ibrahim's trained battalions, passed an Act placing themselves under the protection of England. Before the Act was officially communicated to the Foreign Office some Greek deputies called upon Canning to state that the Greeks thought it desirable to reconcile their divisions by placing some supreme chief at their head, and were desirous of ascertaining the views of the British Government on the subject of the choice. The Greek deputies hinted that they would prefer some person connected with the British royal family, and they suggested the names of the Duke of Sussex, the most liberal of the king's brothers, and of Prince Leopold, the king's son-in-law.

The Greeks apply to Britain for assistance.

Canning gladly took the opportunity which this conference afforded him of explaining the views of England on the subject. He showed that it was impossible for England to accept the offer of the Greeks; that its acceptance would be considered as an act of territorial aggrandisement on the

[1] Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. p. 390.

[2] For the Austrian policy see Canning's vigorous despatch to Sir H. Wellesley, Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 503. Metternich's opinion, quoted in the text, suggests the answer in the old couplet—

"Treason does never prosper. What's the reason?
Why when it prospers, it's no longer treason."

part of Britain, and would, in all probability, lead to a general war. He doubted the possibility of Prince Leopold's assuming the position which the Greek nation was willing to confer upon him; he begged the Greek deputies to remember that every step which Greece took to secure the assistance of Great Britain compelled the British Government to make some new declaration of its neutrality; and he expressed a hope that the Greeks would not consider it "an act of unfriendliness to them" if, "in consequence of the present interview, the Cabinet was again compelled to proclaim its fixed determination to maintain an unvarying neutrality." The Greek deputies were evidently touched by the Foreign Minister's manner. The immediate object of their mission had been frustrated; but they departed from the Conference with the feeling that the British Government, however disinclined it might be to take an active part on their side, did not regard with indifference the gallant efforts of a distant country to achieve its freedom.[1]

Such was the condition of the Greek question in 1825. More than a year had passed since Russia had promised to resume diplomatic relations with the Porte. During the whole of that period the British embassy at Constantinople had been vacant. Strangford had retired on leave after his protracted labours, and his return to the Porte was rendered undesirable or impossible after the failure of the Czar to perform the promise which he had made. Strangford had, however, performed a duty which the British Government could not but acknowledge; and the intimate relations which he had formed with the Russian Court suggested his nomination to the embassy at St. Petersburg. In Strangford's room Canning selected as ambassador at Constantinople a near connection of his own, who had not, at the time, acquired any great reputation. Stratford Canning, known afterwards to all Europe as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, was the son

[1] The manifesto of the Greek nation offering to place itself under Great Britain is printed in the *Ann. Reg.*, 1825, p. 108. Canning's conference is reported fully in Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 507. Cf. Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. p. 442.

of Stratford Canning, a London merchant, the uncle to whom the minister owed his early education. Born in 1788, he had been appointed in 1807 to a subordinate position in the Foreign Office. He had afterwards been employed on various missions of importance, and late in 1824 had been despatched on a special embassy to Vienna and St. Petersburg. In October 1825 he received his formal appointment as ambassador to the Porte. No ambassador ever entered on his duties at a more critical juncture. The Porte was irritated at "the public and uncontrollable interference of British subjects in the military operations of the Greeks;" it disbelieved the professions of neutrality which the British Government conveyed to it; and it distrusted the arrangement which, at Strangford's instigation, it had been persuaded to make with the Court of Russia. On the very day, moreover, on which Stratford Canning received his instructions in London, the Russian Government took a new step, which made an arrangement more improbable than ever. It directed Minciacky, its chargé d'affaires at Constantinople, to seek an interview with the Turkish ministers; to recapitulate the facts of which Russia complained; and, in the event of the interview leading to no satisfactory settlement, to lodge with the Porte a formal protest against the policy which it was pursuing, and to warn it, for the last time, of the consequences which would result from it.[1]

Stratford Canning's appointment as minister to the Porte.

In the interview, which the Russian chargé d'affaires was thus instructed to seek with the Turkish minister, no allusion was made to the affairs of Greece. The two points which he was directed to press on the Porte were the imperfect evacuation of the Danubian Principalities and the arbitrary arrest and imprisonment at Constantinople of some deputies from Servia. The first of these points was one of those which Strangford had undertaken to settle; the second of them was new. A difference of opinion existed on the manner in which the Porte had fulfilled its

M. de Minciacky's demands on the Porte.

[1] The protocol of M. Minciacky's conference is printed in Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 536. Cf. for his instructions ibid., vol. iii. p. 268.

promises to Strangford. Strangford maintained that the Porte had redeemed them. It had undertaken to restore the Principalities to the state, in so much as regarded their occupation by Turkish troops, in which they stood before the insurrection. From everything that he could ascertain, the Porte had reduced its troops in the Principalities below the number stationed there in 1821. The Porte, therefore, in Strangford's judgment, had fully redeemed its promises, and nothing more could justly be required of it. The Russian Government, however, declared that it had understood the promises of the Porte in a broader sense than that which Strangford had attached to them. It had intended that the Porte should not merely reduce its troops in the Principalities, but that it should concurrently place the government of those provinces in the position in which it stood before the war. Before the war the appointment of police was in the hands of the Hospodars. Since the war, on the contrary, the Beshlis and the Bash Beshliagas, as the Turkish police and officers were called, had been appointed by the Porte. "These officers and police," accustomed to plunder, continued "the practice," and became "the terror of the Government and of the people of the Principalities." The British Government was, in the first instance, inclined to agree with Strangford that the Porte had redeemed its promises. Careful inquiry, however, convinced Wellington, and enabled him to satisfy the Cabinet, that Russia was in the right, and the Porte in the wrong.[1]

The second complaint which Minciacky was directed to make to the Porte had reference to the forcible detention of some Servians in Constantinople. Servia in 1821 had sent some deputies to Constantinople to arrange terms with the Turks. The Porte admitted that it confined them in a place of safety, and detained them as hostages for the good behaviour of the Servian people. No one could deny that deputies brought to Constantinople to arrange a treaty ought

[1] For Lord Strangford's opinion see Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. pp. 470–482. For the Duke of Wellington's, ibid., vol. iii. pp. 177, 180; and cf. vol. vii. p. 140.

not to have been detained as hostages. The conduct of the Porte in doing so had given the Russian Government just ground of complaint, and had almost justified its refusal to re-establish diplomatic relations with Turkey.[1]

Such was the state of matters between Russia and the Porte when Stratford Canning received his instructions as ambassador at Constantinople. Long before he reached his post an unexpected event had altered the entire aspect of the situation. The Czar throughout his reign had been in the habit of constant travelling. His restlessness increased as he advanced in years, and during the greater part of 1825 he occupied himself with visiting various parts of his empire. In the autumn he made a rapid journey to the Crimea, and minutely inspected Sebastopol and the Black Sea fleet. Politicians fancied that the journey was intended to influence the pending negotiations with the Porte. An order to the officers to join their regiments in Bessarabia, where an army of 75,000 men was collected,[2] strengthened this conclusion. The Emperor's journey, the position of the Russian troops, Minciacky's formal protest, all pointed to the possibility of immediate war. Quitting Sebastopol, Alexander stopped at Taganrog, on the shores of the Sea of Azov. A slight cold, unwisely neglected, developed into a serious illness. Signs of erysipelas appeared, but were checked, and the disease rapidly developed into gastric fever. After a few days' illness the Czar became delirious; a slight improvement was followed by grave symptoms; and on the 1st December 1825, the mighty autocrat, the most powerful man in the world, passed away.

The death of Alexander.

The character of the Czar, whose memorable reign was thus prematurely closed, arrested the attention of every political observer. Born in the purple, nursed in an atmosphere of despotism, Alexander was a despot. But his despotism was essentially benevolent. He

His character.

[1] See, for the hostages, Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 540, and vol. iii. pp. 170, 176.

[2] For the composition of the army see Wellington *Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 567.

was the coachman; his people were the horses. He had every desire to treat his horses kindly, but he could not imagine that they had the right to a voice upon the direction in which they were to be driven. Universal despotism was the creed to which he devoted himself in 1815; and, so long as crushed and subject populations were satisfied with submitting to the decree, Alexander's life was probably a happy one. But the creed on which his happiness depended was challenged before five years were over in every part of Europe. Spain, Portugal, Naples, Piedmont, Greece, threw off the yoke which a benevolent despotism had fastened on their shoulders. Autocracy tumbled down in every country in which it was not strong enough to stand alone; and, unfortunately, the desire of Alexander to prop it up again with external aid led to differences and dissensions among the powers on whose will the acceptance of Alexander's creed depended. A fatal symptom, moreover, filled the benevolent heart of the Emperor with despair. Autocracy depends for its support on the fidelity of its armies; and armies had been the agents which had for a time terminated autocracy in Spain, Portugal, and Italy. A grave suspicion seized the Czar that his own army might prove as unreliable as those armies which had already betrayed their sovereigns; and the suspicion threw him into a state of nervous irritation, which weakened his constitution, and perhaps hastened his end. The dream of despotism had faded into a dissolving view, and the growth of liberal opinion had proved too strong for the mighty Emperor of all the Russias.

Alexander had not completed the forty-eighth year of his age when he thus died almost suddenly at Taganrog. The reports of his illness only reached St. Petersburg seven days after his death. The people were praying for his recovery nine days after he died. His death necessarily threw everything into temporary confusion. It was not even certain who was his successor. He left two brothers, Constantine and Nicholas. Constantine, the eldest of the two, had a violent temper, which his family thought

He is succeeded by Nicholas.

unfitted him for the throne. Like Esau, he had been persuaded to abdicate his birthright in favour of his younger brother. The Emperor's consent to his marriage with a Polish lady of the Roman Catholic persuasion was the mess of pottage for which he sold it. Alexander, having made this arrangement with the elder of his two brothers, communicated it to the Senate in a sealed paper to be opened only on his death. Before the paper was opened, Nicholas, who was at St. Petersburg, had taken the oath of allegiance to Constantine, who was at Warsaw. The Senate, immediately afterwards opening the paper, discovered that Constantine had renounced his succession to the throne. Such a dilemma had never perhaps previously occurred in the history of the world. The throne of the mighty Empire of Russia was at the disposal of either brother; and, with rare forbearance, each preferred the other's claims. Nicholas, at St. Petersburg, insisted on his brother's right; Constantine, at Warsaw, adhered to his own abdication; and some days passed away before Nicholas was prevailed upon to regard his brother's determination as final, and to mount the throne which was thus unexpectedly presented to him.[1]

Some of the troops declare for Constantine.

The brothers at last settled their amicable difference. But the ignorant Russian people and the ignorant Russian army could hardly be expected either to appreciate or understand the motives which had influenced Nicholas and Constantine. The army, in particular, was thrown into perplexity. At the beginning of December it had been ordered to swear allegiance to Constantine; at the end of December it was commanded to swear allegiance to Nicholas. Some of the regiments complied with the order; others refused. Forming in the grand place of St. Petersburg, in front of their barracks, they raised a cry of "Constantine for ever!" The personal authority of Nicholas was insufficient to quell the mutiny, and the artillery had to fire on the disaffected regiments before order was restored.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1825, Hist., p. 160. See also Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 151.

The revolt, so far as the men were concerned, was entirely due to the doubts which the disputed succession had created. A few of their officers, it is alleged, desired to avail themselves of these doubts, and to establish, by the aid of the soldiers, a constitutional government. The suspicions which Alexander had formed in the latter part of his life appeared to receive some confirmation from the circumstance. A secret commission of inquiry, sitting with closed doors, declared that the firmness of the Czar and the fidelity of the Guards had alone saved the empire from a frightful peril. Secret commissions of inquiry, however, are not the most reliable authorities for statements of this character; and the conduct of the troops throughout the revolt showed decisively that, whatever preference they might have felt for Constantine as their emperor, they did not understand and had no desire to secure for Russia a constitutional government.

The revolt occurred at the close of the year. Its suppression left Nicholas undisputed Czar of all the Russias. There was every reason to believe that the new emperor shared the opinions and the views of his predecessor; but a change of government suggested the possibility of unravelling the tangled negotiations between Russia and the Porte.

Wellington is sent to St. Petersburg.

It was usual to send some distinguished statesman to the capital of any friendly power on the occasion of a new reign; and it occurred to Canning that the statesman who bore the king's condolence and congratulations to Nicholas might be entrusted with the task of arriving at a complete understanding with the Russian Court. The success of such a mission, however, was evidently dependent on the personal authority of the ambassador; and there was only one Englishman alive whose words would command a weight which could not be ignored. The contemplated mission, in short, could only be successful if Wellington could be induced to undertake it; and the king, whose marked consideration for the Duke redeemed some of the graver defects of character, would not even allow the offer to be made without ascertaining that the

proposal would be perfectly convenient and agreeable.[1] The Duke readily assented to undertake the duty; and, on the 10th of February 1826, he received his detailed instructions from the Foreign Office.[2] Setting out at once on his journey, he reached Berlin on the 17th of February, and St. Petersburg on the 2nd of March. On the same evening he had an interview with Nesselrode, and on the following day a long conversation with Nicholas.

Russia presents an ultimatum to the Porte.

The conversation was succeeded a week afterwards by a much longer and more important interview. To the Duke's surprise and annoyance, the Czar showed him a note, which it was intended that Minciacky should at once present to the Porte, demanding, within one month's time, the immediate execution of every treaty relating to the Principalities, the abandonment of the appointment of the Beshlis by the Porte, the release of the Servian deputies, and the despatch of plenipotentiaries to the Russian frontier. It was in vain that the Duke remonstrated, both personally and in writing, against the precipitate action of the Russian Government. The Czar was evidently irritated at the dilatory conduct of the Turkish ministers, and at the excuses which they made. "Ils nous jouent et se moquent de nous," were his emphatic words. "If the Porte is ready to afford us satisfaction, why do they hesitate to say so? Why is Monsieur de Minciacky to remain since May last without an answer? Why is the late emperor my brother's protest to remain unanswered since October last?" All the authority, all the reasoning, of the Duke could not induce the Czar to abate one of his demands; the utmost that he could effect was the prolongation to six weeks of the time to be allowed the Porte for consideration. With this amendment the note was at once despatched from St. Petersburg to Constantinople, and the Duke was not acquainted with its despatch till it was actually on its way.[3] Minciacky, however, was privately instructed that it was the

[1] The king's letter is worth reading. Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 53.
[2] For these see Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 85.
[3] Ibid., pp. 180, 186, 226, 252.

desire of the Russian Court to avoid war; and that, in the event of the Porte complying with the two chief demands, and refusing only to send plenipotentiaries to the frontier, the Russian Government would not think it necessary to commence hostilities.

One object of Wellington's mission had thus failed. But there was another part of his mission which was of even greater importance than the reconciliation of Russia and Turkey. Since Ibrahim Pacha had landed in the Morea the Greek war had entered on a new phase. Rumours had reached the Foreign Office from almost every quarter that Ibrahim Pacha intended "to drive, as it were, the whole of the Greek population of the Morea; to transport them into slavery in Africa; and to re-people the country thus depopulated by a Mohammedan colonisation. In the autumn of 1825 Count Lieven, the Russian minister in London, mentioned the report to Canning,"[1] who hesitated to believe the possibility of "so monstrous and extravagant" a plan. Stratford Canning, however, stopping at Corfu on his way to Constantinople, heard a story which unexpectedly confirmed Count Lieven's statement. "You may remember, sir," he wrote to Canning on the 16th of December, "that the earliest operations of this Pacha in the Morea were carried on with some appearances of forbearance and conciliation. Whatever may be the cause of the change, his conduct is no longer the same. If the statements which have reached me be true, he now acts on a system little short of extermination. I have not, indeed, heard of any acts of slaughter committed by him in cold blood; but he seems to spare no one where the slightest show of resistance is made. There is room to apprehend that many of his prisoners have been sent into Egypt as slaves; the children, it is asserted, being even compelled to embrace the Mohammedan faith."[2]

The Greek insurrection.

Stratford Canning's cautious statement practically confirmed the allegation which Lieven had already made, and Stratford

[1] Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. ii. p. 476. Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 92.
[2] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 581.

Canning's report was subsequently strengthened by other rumours. From various quarters it was stated that the monstrous and incredible plan had notoriously been adopted, and was in partial operation.[1] These statements were so circumstantial that instructions were given to the commander of his Majesty's "naval forces in the Mediterranean to select an officer on whose discretion he could rely, to proceed at once to Ibrahim Pacha, and to give the Pacha distinctly to understand that unless he shall in a written document explicitly disavow or renounce the intention of transporting the population of the Morea to Asia or Africa, and replacing them by the population of those countries, effectual means will be taken to prevent, by the intervention of his Majesty's naval forces, the accomplishment of so unwarrantable a project."[2] Captain Spencer, who was in command of the division of the fleet which was stationed in the Ionian Islands, was selected for the duty. He sought an interview with Ibrahim Pacha on the 12th of March. Ibrahim Pacha told him that two Turkish officers, who were present, were sent by the Porte to watch his conduct; that he could do nothing without their consent, and that he must refer Captain Spencer to them. One of these officers thereupon observed that questions of this character were usually treated of by persons accredited by their respective Governments; that the Porte had always been in the habit of treating with Great Britain according to the common forms and usages of nations; and that as, agreeably to these, a captain of a frigate could not treat with a pacha, a pacha could not answer the captain of a frigate.[3] The usual dexterity of the Turk had thus succeeded in foiling Spencer. But the inquiry which Spencer had been instructed to make of Ibrahim Pacha was immediately afterwards addressed in a more regular way to the Turkish ministers. The Reis Effendi refused to answer the question in writing, but he gave "a positive verbal denial

The British Government interferes to prevent the depopulation of the Morea.

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 105; and ibid., p. 125.
[2] Ibid., vol. iii. p. 83.
[3] Ibid., pp. 285–288.

of the plan imputed to the Porte and its vassal.[1] That denial made it, to say the least, improbable that the heartless conduct which Ibrahim Pacha was suspected of contemplating would be really carried out.

The instructions on which Spencer had acted were adopted by the Cabinet on the eve of Wellington's departure to St. Petersburg. The ministry had, in short, reasonable grounds for suspecting that the Turks were meditating the introduction of a system of warfare which would rouse the indignation of Christian Europe. Some difficulty had already been experienced in reconciling the British nation to the neutral course which the British Government had pursued; and, if the intentions of which Ibrahim Pacha was suspected were once known, the indignation of a generous people would make further neutrality impossible. Russia was the protectress of the Greeks, and it therefore seemed desirable to arrive at a full understanding with the Russian Government on the course to be pursued towards Greece. The greater part of the instructions which Wellington took with him to St. Petersburg referred to the treatment of the Greek question, and not to the settlement of the other causes of difference between Russia and the Porte.[2]

Nicholas's indifference to the Greek cause.

The Duke reached St. Petersburg under the impression that he would find the new Emperor zealously prepared to head a new crusade on behalf of the outraged Greek Christians. The first conversation which he had with the Czar dispelled this illusion. He found the Czar violent against the Porte for its conduct towards Servia and in the Principalities, but "more than indifferent" about the unhappy people who were struggling in the Morea for their independence. Nicholas had, in fact, inherited the doctrine which had been instilled into Alexander by Castlereagh, and doubted the propriety of interfering "in favour of rebellious subjects."[3] The Duke left the Czar with the clear impression that, whatever else Russia might do, she

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. pp. 274, 394.
[2] Ibid., pp. 85–93.
[3] Ibid., p. 149.

would not go to war for the sake of the Greeks. Immediately after his interview with the Czar he had some conversation with Nesselrode. He found, to his surprise, that the views of the Emperor were not shared by, or even known to, the minister, and that Nesselrode accounted for the opinions of his master by declaring that the Emperor had as yet given little attention to foreign affairs.[1] The Duke, however, soon discovered that the difference between the opinions of the master and the minister was not attributable to the ignorance of Nicholas, but to the waning influence of Nesselrode. Some secret adviser, whom the Duke was unable to identify, stood behind the imperial throne;[2] and the ultimatum which was accordingly almost immediately despatched to Constantinople did not contain the faintest allusion to the Greek cause.

After the ultimatum had been sent the opinion of Nicholas underwent a remarkable change. Lieven, the Russian minister at London, was summoned to St. Petersburg. Shrewd observers fancied that he brought from London the views of the British Foreign Office.[3] It was at any rate clear that Nesselrode and he saw plainly enough that the ultimatum which Minciacky had been instructed to lodge with the Porte might possibly, or even probably, lead to immediate war. They saw equally plainly that, if Russia were at war with the Porte, she must, whether she liked it or not, conclude an alliance with Greek rebels; and they therefore very rationally concluded that it was a grave political mistake to profess a cold indifference for a cause to-day for which it might be necessary to fight to-morrow. With these views Lieven and Nesselrode laboured assiduously to prove that Nicholas had been misunderstood, and to arrive at some conclusion with Wellington on the subject of Greece.[4] After a little discussion, a protocol was formally agreed upon, under which Russia and Great Britain undertook to offer their joint mediation to the Porte. Greece, it was proposed, should become a dependency of the Turkish empire,

Lieven reaches St. Petersburg.

The protocol of St. Petersburg.

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 154.
[2] Ibid., p. 194.
[3] See Lord Bathurst's opinion, ibid., p. 402.
[4] Ibid., p. 226.

and should pay to the Porte a fixed tribute; but it should be governed by authorities of its own choosing, and should enjoy a complete liberty of conscience and a complete freedom of trade. Any property which the Turks possessed in Greece was to be purchased by the Greeks; and Great Britain on the one hand, and Russia on the other, in agreeing to the protocol, formally disclaimed all intention of seeking any increase of territory or any exclusive commercial advantage.[1]

This protocol was the last important matter which occupied the Duke's attention at Petersburg. Almost immediately after its signature he set out on his homeward journey. His mission had failed to prevent the despatch of a Russian ultimatum to the Porte; but it had led to the basis of an agreement between Russia and England on the Greek question. In the meanwhile the messenger who bore the ultimatum had arrived at Constantinople. He found the Turks in a state of exceptional elation. Rumours had reached the Porte that Russia was paralysed by the disaffection of her army. Despatches had arrived from Ibrahim Pacha announcing the rapid progress of the operations at Missolonghi.

Minciacky presents his ultimatum.

The Porte seemed on the eve of victory, and the Reis Effendi was congratulating himself on the improving prospects of the situation, when Minciacky called on him and handed to him the ultimatum. For the moment the Reis Effendi forgot his customary prudence, and unofficially intimated to his visitor that the demands could not be complied with.[2] But the illusion in which the Reis Effendi indulged was only momentary. The scales dropped from his eyes and the stern realities of the situation were revealed to him. Before the six weeks had elapsed the Turkish ministers had made up their minds to surrender unconditionally. They agreed to every requirement of the Russian ultimatum, and to send a plenipotentiary to Ackermann, a town of Russia, situated in Bessarabia, near the mouth of the Dniester.[3]

The Porte yields.

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. pp. 246, 249.
[2] Ibid., p. 275. [3] Ibid., p. 334.

The concession of the Porte had averted immediate war. The Turkish ministers had submitted to an inevitable necessity. The negotiations at Ackermann were commenced in July; and, from their commencement, fresh humiliations were in store for Turkey. The Russians insisted on a fresh recognition by the Porte of the treaties of Kainardji and Bucharest; on the confirmation of every privilege which had been secured to the Principalities; on the political emancipation of the Servians; and on the payment of compensation to Russian subjects for any losses which they had sustained from the depredations of Barbary pirates. The Porte, on its side, merely desired the surrender by Russia of the fortresses in Asia Minor, Soukoum Kaleh and Redout Kaleh, which Russia in the Treaty of Bucharest had agreed to restore to the Ottoman empire.[1] It was with difficulty that Russia was induced to yield on this point to the Turkish plenipotentiaries. She insisted, after doing so, the more strenuously on unconditional compliance with her own demands. Her requirements were, in fact, from the opening of the Conference, lodged in the unusual form of an ultimatum; and the Russian plenipotentiaries were instructed to say that any refusal on the part of the Porte, or even any delay, would be the signal for the Russian armies crossing the Pruth. Thus threatened, Turkey again yielded. She ratified the humiliating treaty of Bucharest; she confirmed the Principalities in all the privileges which that treaty had secured to them; she agreed that the Boyards should elect the future Hospodars from their own body; she promised that no Hospodar should be deposed by the Porte without the consent of Russia; she allowed the Moldavian Boyards, who had taken refuge on Russian soil, to return and resume their rank and their property; she consented to grant to Servia religious liberty, free choice of its rulers, independent self-government and free trade; and to

The Treaty of Ackermann.

[1] Oddly enough, Alison (vol. iii. p. 251) and Sir E. Creasy (*Ottoman Turks*, p. 507) represent this as another of the demands of Russia. Russia simply demanded that each side should retain the fortresses it possessed—*i.e.*, that the fortresses should not be ceded to Turkey. The treaty itself is printed in *State Papers*, vol. xiii. p. 899. *Ann. Reg.*, 1826, Hist., p. 349, for the facts.

make Russia a party to the stipulations.[1] The friends of Turkey had traced all her recent misfortunes to the right, which Russia had acquired at Kainardji and Bucharest, to interfere in the internal affairs of the Porte. This right was confirmed and emphasised by the treaty of Ackermann.

The Porte had given way because compliance had become indispensable. Two months before the plenipotentiaries met, the Sultan had virtually deprived himself of all powers of resistance. For nearly five centuries the Janissaries had been the body on which successive Sultans had mainly relied. The corps had originally been formed by Orchan, in the fourteenth century, out of Christian children taken captive in war. In the seventeenth century its composition was altered, and it was thenceforward recruited from the children of the Janissaries themselves, and of native Turks. Living for war, reserved in all great battles for the final charge, stimulated by the rewards which excite mercenary troops to bravery, inspired with the fierce fanaticism of their creed, assured of wealth if they survived, assured of Paradise if they fell, the Janissaries proved their prowess on a hundred fields. Conscious of their own powers, they ultimately became scarcely less formidable to their own master than to his enemies. On the accession of Bajazet II. they committed various disorders, and, with arms in their hands, demanded their own pardon and a pecuniary reward. Bajazet complied with a demand which he was powerless to refuse; and the Janissaries, deriving confidence from success, renewed their claim at every succeeding reign. For three centuries every successive Sultan was compelled to purchase the favour of this formidable body by rich donations at his accession.

The suppression of the Janissaries.

The troops that are troublesome to their own sovereign soon cease to be troublesome to his enemies. In the dark period of the Middle Ages the Crescent had proved superior to the Cross, because the soldiers who gathered round the banner of the Prophet had possessed a better organisation and better drill than their unskilled opponents. But as time rolled on

[1] Creasy, p. 507. *Ann. Reg.*, 1826, Hist., p. 349.

the advantage which the Mussulman thus enjoyed passed over to his opponents. The art of war was studied with passionate eagerness in Christian Europe; and the Christian armies were moved with the precision which in former ages had made the Roman armies masters of the world. While the art of war was thus advancing in Christian Europe, it was neglected in the dominions of the Porte. The Mussulman troops refused to practise the new tactics which modern arms had necessitated, and without which success in war was no longer possible. The soldiers, who were already a terror to their own sovereigns, became almost useless. It was amidst these circumstances that Mahmoud II. decided on attempting to reform the military system of his decaying empire. The success of Ibrahim Pacha in the Morea, and the failure of his own troops, convinced him of the superiority of trained and disciplined soldiers over a comparatively untrained and lawless soldiery. Strengthening his artillery in preparation for the struggle, he persuaded the Grand Council of Viziers to resolve that a certain number of the Janissaries should practise the new military exercises. The Janissaries, defying the demand, overturned their camp-kettles, in sign of revolt, and marched upon the palace. Mahmoud, unfurling the Sacred Banner of the Prophet, ordered the artillery to open upon them with grape. Slowly retiring step by step to their barracks, the Janissaries defended themselves with undaunted bravery. But undaunted bravery was powerless before shot and shell. The Janissaries of the capital were shot down with unpitying severity. The Janissary force throughout the empire was repressed, and the name of Janissary abolished for ever.[1]

Mahmoud II. by a horrible massacre had delivered himself for ever from the embarrassing demands of a mutinous soldiery; but the victory which he had gained had brought his empire to the verge of ruin. Russian plenipotentiaries were presenting a humiliating ultimatum to the Porte at Ackermann; a Russian army was bivouacked along the Pruth, in constant readiness to march; and the

Defenceless state of the Ottoman Empire.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1826, Hist., pp. 325–358. Creasy's *Ottoman Turks*, p. 502.

Ottoman troops—the chief safeguard against invasion—had been shot down in their thousands by the commands of their own Sultan. Mahmoud II. was, indeed, actively organising a new army to replace the troops whom he had destroyed. But the creation of armies is a work of time; and the Russian plenipotentiaries at Ackermann had no intention to allow the Porte a respite. The first result of the massacre of the Janissaries was the humiliating treaty of Ackermann. The Turkish ministers, when they agreed to its disastrous provisions, probably imagined that they had at last relieved their defenceless empire from the danger of a Russian war. Every one of the Russian conditions had been accepted; every complaint which Russia had ever urged had been attended to. Yet, at the moment at which these conditions were agreed to, a greater danger than that from which it had already escaped was being prepared for the Porte. The Turkish ministers had, up to this time, dealt with Russia alone: they had thenceforward to deal with Russia and Britain.

While, in fact, the Turkish negotiators had been labouring at Ackermann, Count Lieven, the Russian ambassador in London, called on Canning at the Foreign Office to ask about the protocol to which Wellington had agreed in the preceding April. For four months the protocol had remained unacted on. The only person who had become aware of its provisions was the editor of the *Times*, who, within a month of its signature, had published the substance of it.[1] A section of the Cabinet, ill-disposed to interfere with the Turks, thought that the questions of the Russian ambassador were inspired by Canning; and that Canning, in inducing Lieven to propose them to him, was really placing a little pressure on his own colleagues.[2] Whether these suspicions were well-founded or not, Lieven's question had been put, and required an answer. Canning himself had no doubt about the reply to it. In his judgment the time had arrived when Russia and Great Britain

[1] The *Times* apparently got its information from Russia. See, for Canning's intense annoyance, Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 323.

[2] Ibid., p. 402.

should make a joint application to the Porte. The success of the negotiations at Ackermann would lead to the restoration of the Russian minister at the Porte; and the avowed, direct, and cordial co-operation of the British and Russian ambassadors would—so Canning thought—be "the measure at once the most consonant with the spirit of the protocol, and the most likely to be conducive to success." The step would be more likely to succeed if other powers could be induced to join in it; and pressure might be placed on Turkey by the threat either of a "simultaneous withdrawing of the Christian missions from Constantinople," or even of "the recognition as an independent state of such portion of" Grecian "territory as may have freed itself from Turkish dominion." The Cabinet agreed, though with some hesitation, to Canning's answer. Wellington and Bathurst, who disliked the policy of the Foreign Office, consoled themselves with the reflection that it committed the country to very little. It was not likely that all the allies would consent to withdraw their ambassadors from the Porte; it was not likely that the Porte would wholly withdraw from any portion of Grecian territory. The two hypotheses named in the despatch were both improbable; and the threat, which was founded on them, was therefore empty. Trusting to such arguments as these, they permitted the answer to go; and a fresh step was thus taken in the policy which led to Navarino and Greek independence.[1]

Russian and British joint action.

Lieven referred Canning's answer to St. Petersburg. The Russian Government readily assented to the views which were embodied in it; the British and Russian ambassadors at Paris, Berlin, and Vienna were, at once, instructed to bring the correspondence before the Courts to which they were accredited, and to invite the co-operation of Austria, Prussia, and France in the measures on which Great Britain and Russia had already agreed for the pacification of Eastern Europe. The communication was accordingly made; but it

[1] For the despatch, see Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 396. For the objections to it, ibid., pp. 402–405.

met with different receptions in the various courts to which it was addressed. France at once announced her "absolute and unqualified accession" to the Protocol, and her concurrence in all the measures necessary to give effect to it. Austria expressed her pleasure in finding that the desire of Great Britain and Russia to effect the pacification of Greece was in accordance with her own wish, but objected to the measures which it was intended to take with this object. Prussia, pleading that she had no interest in the Eastern question, declined to do more than instruct her ambassador at Constantinople to endorse the representations made by the other allies to the Turkish Government.[1]

France adheres to the Protocol of St. Petersburg.

The application to the allies had only proved the impossibility of inducing Austria and Prussia to agree to any joint action. It had secured, however, the adhesion of France to the policy of Britain and Russia. The French Government, indeed, not only agreed to the protocol, but desired to convert the protocol into a treaty. Canning at once assented to this suggestion, and the draft treaty which the French Government accordingly proposed reached London in January 1827. Canning was seriously ill at the time. Before he recovered, Liverpool was struck down by the fatal illness which necessitated his retirement; and weeks passed away before the new Administration, of which Canning was the head, was definitely installed in office. During the interval the Cabinet was only able to pay a desultory attention to the draft treaty, which French and Russians were both anxious should be signed. So far as the public treaty itself was concerned, indeed, it required little consideration. It repeated the maxims and the language of the protocol. But the French and Russian Governments desired to add to the treaty a separate article, which, in the event of a new Turkish refusal to listen to advice, contemplated intervention by force. Canning was disposed to accept this article. One of the last acts of Wellington before he retired from office was to oppose

[1] Stapleton's *Canning*, vol. iii. pp. 270–272.

it.[1] Had he remained in power, it is possible that he would have refused to have assented to it, and that the treaty, which was ultimately signed, would have been drawn in another shape. He refused to serve under Canning; and Canning, relieved by his refusal from all necessity of attending to his scruples, assented to the article which the Duke had condemned.

The treaty and the additional and secret article were both signed in London on the 6th of July 1827. The public treaty, which contained only seven articles, pledged the contracting powers to offer their mediation to the Porte, and to demand an armistice of both belligerents. It detailed the arrangement for the pacification of Greece which it was intended should be proposed, and it pledged the contracting powers to seek no augmentation of territory, no exclusive influence, and no commercial advantages for their subjects. The additional and secret article declared that, in case the Porte declined within one month to accept the mediation, the contracting powers should intimate to the Porte that "the inconveniences and evils" resulting from the state of things subsisting in the East imposed upon them "the necessity of taking immediate measures for an approximation with the Greeks," by establishing commercial relations with them, and by the appointment of consular agents. The secret article added that, if either the Turks or Greeks refused to accept the proffered armistice, "the high contracting powers intend to exert all the means which circumstances may suggest to their prudence to obtain the immediate effect of the armistice, the execution of which they desire, by preventing, in as far as may be in their power, all collision between the contending parties." With some inconsistency the article went on to pledge the high contracting powers "conjointly to employ all their means in the accomplishment of the object thereof, without, however, taking any part in the hostilities between the two contending parties." "Instructions conformable to these provisions" were to be immediately transmitted by the high contracting powers to the admirals commanding

The treaty of July.

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 610; and cf. vol. vii. pp. 170, 335.

their squadrons in the seas of the Levant."[1] These officers were, in fact, to be ordered to keep the peace. But the high contracting powers apparently forgot that the policeman who is instructed to separate two angry disputants finds it occasionally necessary, in carrying out his orders, to use his staff.

The British fleet in the Mediterranean was at the time of the Treaty of London under the command of Sir Edward Codrington. Codrington, who was born in 1770, and who was therefore in the fifty-eighth year of his age, had done good service for his country in every portion of the globe. He had been sent home with despatches after Howe's great victory of the 1st of June; he had commanded the *Orion* at the battle of Trafalgar. He had been rewarded for his services by being made a K.C.B. He was selected for the Mediterranean command at the close of 1826. His gallantry as an officer has never been questioned; his discretion has occasionally been doubted. He has the misfortune to have his memory identified with the policy of his employers, and men have judged him harshly or leniently according to their own political prepossessions. The voluminous memoir of him which an affectionate daughter has given to the world has perhaps also had the effect of injuring his reputation. The reader who wearily wades through page after page of irrelevant correspondence forgets that the subject of the book was a hero, and only thinks of him as a bore. Lady Bourchier, however, is not the only author who has fallen into the mistake of expanding into two thick volumes a memoir which ought to have been compressed into one little one. Codrington is not the only public man whose reputation has suffered from the pious veneration of posterity. In this respect he is not more unfortunate than others of his contemporaries. In one other point, however, his position is exceptional. He is the only British officer who ever incurred the cold disregard of his superiors for winning a great victory.

Codrington.

In July 1827, Codrington, on board his flagship, the *Asia*,

[1] The text of the treaty will be found in *Ann. Reg.*, 1827, Chron., p. 403. *Hansard*, vol. xviii. p. 88. *State Papers*, vol. xiv. p. 632.

was cruising off Napoli. There he received a message from Stratford Canning that the Treaty of London was signed. A fortnight afterwards, opening a bundle of newspapers from London, he found that the *Times* of the 12th of July had the full text of the treaty. His own instructions reached him a little later. He was desired, in concert with the French and Russian admirals, to forward a declaration to the Provisional Government of Greece demanding an armistice. He was told that a similar declaration would be made to the Porte by the plenipotentiaries of the three powers. In the event of the Porte refusing the armistice, the admirals were instructed to intercept every supply either of arms or men sent by sea against Greece, either from Turkey or Egypt. In doing so, however, the admirals were to use every care to prevent the measures which they might take with this object from degenerating into hostilities. It was the intention of the powers, they were told, to act as conciliators, and "every hostile proceeding would be at variance with the pacific ground" which they had chosen to take.[1] Codrington received these instructions on the 7th of August. A few days afterwards he was joined at Vourla, near Smyrna, by De Rigny, the French admiral. Neither De Rigny nor he could make out the meaning of their orders. "How are we," he wrote to Stratford Canning, with whom he had been instructed to place himself in communication, "how are we by force to prevent the Turks from pursuing any line of conduct which we are instructed to oppose without committing hostility? Surely it must be like a blockade: if any attempt be made to force it, by force only can that attempt be resisted." "You are quite right," was the answer which he received from Stratford Canning; "although the measures are not to be adopted in a hostile spirit, and the allied Governments desire to avoid anything that may bring on war, yet the prevention of supplies is ultimately to be enforced if necessary, and, when all other means are exhausted, by cannon-shot."[2]

His instructions.

[1] *Codrington*, vol. i. pp. 388, 400; and Appendix, pp. 506–512.
[2] Ibid., vol. i. pp. 417, 450.

The orders had been given; the doubtful language of the Foreign Office had been translated into plain English by Stratford Canning; the declaration had been handed to a commission appointed by the Greek Legislature to receive it; and the Greeks had assented to the proposal for an armistice. Codrington was impatiently expecting the answer of the Porte to the proposal. On the 7th of September he learned that the Porte had refused it. The time for action had arrived. But the great statesman who had planned the treaty was no more. Codrington had little leisure, however, to reflect on the consequences of Canning's death to himself, his country, and the world. A month before an Egyptian fleet had left Alexandria with reinforcements for the Morea. It had been detained by head-winds in the Mediterranean, and it had not yet arrived at its destination. Codrington hoped by using every exertion to cut it off before it reached its destination. But time was unluckily against him. He only received Stratford Canning's despatch on the night of the 7th. The Egyptian squadron entered the port of Navarino on the 9th of September. The reinforcements reached the Morea two days before Codrington was able to arrive off Navarino.

Navarino.

The port of Navarino, on the south-west of the Morea, is one of the best and most capacious harbours in Greece. It is a deep bay, sheltered from westerly winds by a rocky island forming a natural breakwater. The ancient name of the place was Pylus, and it had been the scene of an important episode in the Peloponnesian War. Demosthenes, perceiving the value of the situation, which at the time was deserted, established himself there with a few ships and a small garrison in a hastily constructed fort. The Lacedæmonians, furious at the unusual spectacle of an Athenian garrison entrenched in the Morea, attacked the position by sea and land. They occupied the rocky island which sheltered the harbour; they sent a formidable army to attack Demosthenes; and they concurrently despatched against him a considerable fleet. The hastily constructed fort proved, however, capable of resisting their assault. The

attack failed, and a regular siege was determined on. The Peloponnesian fleet was stationed in the harbour; the Lacedæmonian forces surrounded the position by land. The eyes of Greece were suddenly directed to the hitherto neglected bay, whose importance Demosthenes had had the genius to discern. The Athenians, recognising the necessity of relieving the gallant garrison, sent their fleet under Eurymedon to Pylus. Forcing his way into the harbour, Eurymedon encountered the Peloponnesian fleet and won a great victory. Pylus was effectually relieved; the Lacedæmonian garrison in the rocky island was in its turn isolated; and the Lacedæmonians, recognising the significance of the reverse, sent ambassadors to Athens to arrange a peace.

More than twenty-two centuries had passed since the genius of Demosthenes had been attracted to the solitary bay, which he made so famous in the annals of his country. The port of Navarino was again to witness an engagement of more importance than the struggle between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians. The combined Turco-Egyptian squadron was anchored within its waters. Powerful batteries, heavily armed with artillery, guarded its headlands; and Ibrahim Pacha, surrounded by a powerful army, was encamped on its shores. Outside the port, Codrington, with a small squadron of British vessels, watched the movements of his formidable adversary, anxiously expecting the arrival of the French and Russian fleets. On the 19th of September he sent a letter to the Turkish admiral, acquainting him with the orders of the British Government, and begging him to refrain from provoking extreme measures. The Turkish admiral, however, did not comply with Codrington's suggestion. On the 21st of September a division of his fleet got under weigh, and proceeded out of the harbour. Codrington bore down upon the Turkish vessels, determined, at the hazard of a battle, to insist on their return to port. A current, however, wafted him from his true course; and the Turkish troops showed no signs of yielding to the little squadron which Codrington had under his orders. At this critical moment De Rigny and the

Codrington at Navarino.

French fleet appeared in the offing. The welcome reinforcement restored Codrington's confidence, and shook the Turkish admiral from his purpose. The Turkish vessels returned to port. The treaty of July had been enforced without cannon-shot or bloodshed.

The French and British squadrons were now united before Navarino. Codrington and De Rigny decided on seeking an interview with Ibrahim Pacha. Ibrahim granted them the audience which they sought on the 25th of September. They explained to him their orders; they pointed out to him the folly of resisting them; they induced him to send for fresh instructions to Constantinople, and to agree to a suspension of hostilities for twenty days. The agreement had hardly been concluded before Ibrahim learned that Cochrane had made a descent upon Patras. Furious at the news, he was with difficulty dissuaded from breaking the armistice, cutting his cables, and proceeding to sea. He actually sent his interpreter on board the *Asia* to ask Codrington's leave to reinforce Patras. The permission was, of course, refused. Ibrahim had the discretion to avoid hostilities. The treaty of July had again been enforced without cannon-shot or bloodshed.

His interview with Ibrahim.

De Rigny had rendered efficient assistance at a critical moment. The French admiral, however, had no fancy for blockading a hostile fleet on a stormy coast, and made an excuse for going to Milo. Codrington was obliged to send some of his own ships to Malta for fresh provisions. At the beginning of October he was, at the head of a weakened force, still watching the great Turkish fleet. On the afternoon of the 1st of October, while anchored in Zante Roads, he received a signal that the Turkish fleet had again put to sea. A division of their fleet, consisting of 7 frigates, 9 corvettes, and 19 brigs, was standing out of Navarino. Codrington had no vessels except the *Asia*, the *Dartmouth*, the *Talbot*, and the *Zebra*, under his orders. But he at once desired Captain Spencer, of the *Talbot*, to inform the Turkish admiral that he would not allow him to proceed.

The French leave the station.

The Turkish vessels brought to; accelerated in their motions by several shots fired by Codrington's orders across their bows. In obedience to a signal they turned and set sail for Navarino. While they were doing so they were joined by a second division of the Turkish fleet, consisting of 3 frigates, 4 corvettes, and 7 brigs. The entire Ottoman force at sea comprised 49 vessels, and mounted 1270 guns. The British squadron consisted of only 4 vessels, and 172 guns. But the Turks, notwithstanding this disparity of force, avoided an engagement and stood towards Navarino. The night, however, of the 3rd of October was stormy; and Ibrahim Pacha, taking advantage of the weather to conceal his movements, edged away from his destination and again beat up for Patras.

The affair off Cape Patras.

Codrington found the Turks, detained by headwinds, off Cape Patras on the evening of the 5th. He again compelled them to retrace their steps, and drove them before him to Navarino. Several shots were, however, fired at the Turks before the British admiral enforced obedience to his orders.

Codrington, without either French or Russian aid, had enforced the treaty of July, and compelled the Turkish fleet to desist from hostilities. But the inferiority of his force crippled his movements, and subjected him to the risk of possible destruction by the overwhelming numbers of his opponents. Fortunately for him, however, his anxiety was soon removed by the arrival at Navarino on the 13th of October of the French and Russian squadrons. The Russian admiral, Heiden, proved an excellent officer and a thorough seaman; and the combined strength of the allied fleets made them irresistible at sea. Ibrahim, however, foiled in his purpose of assisting Patras, revenged himself on the unfortunate inhabitants of the Morea. Placing his army in motion, he deliberately set his troops to ravage and destroy. Women and children were slain; houses burned; trees cut down; the country converted into a desert; and the wretched survivors, dying of absolute hunger, were compelled to boil grass for food. The three admirals met together on

Ibrahim's treatment of the Morea.

the *Asia* to consider the possibility of stopping this brutal warfare. They agreed that the continuance of the blockade would be difficult, expensive, and possibly impracticable; that the mere presence of the allied fleets in Navarino would not compel Ibrahim to desist from the horrible cruelties which he was engaged in committing; and that it was, therefore, necessary for the allied squadrons to take a position in Navarino, and there renew their propositions to Ibrahim.[1]

The allied admirals arrived at this decision on the 18th of October. The wind the next day was too light to carry their fleets into the bay; and a few hours' leisure was obtained for preparing for the work in prospect. At two o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th the allied squadrons stood into the harbour. The Turkish fleet had been moored in the form of a horseshoe in three lines, the larger vessels composing the front line, the smaller vessels filling up the intervals between their larger consorts. The Ottoman fleet, in short, was capable of directing a concentrated fire on any vessels which had the hardihood to place themselves in the centre of the horseshoe. A hostile force, resolved on attacking it, would probably have imitated the example of Nelson at Aboukir: have forced its way round one of the flanks of the horseshoe, and have taken the Ottomans in the rear. Codrington, however, thought himself precluded from attempting this manœuvre. Shot and shell were to be the last arguments to which he was to resort; and, though his decks were cleared for action, he was ostensibly charged with a peaceful mission to an ally. In these circumstances he hesitated to adopt an obviously hostile movement; and stood, with his combined fleet, ranged in two columns, into the centre of the horseshoe. The Turks began the action by firing on a boat of the *Dartmouth;* the *Dartmouth* replied, to cover the retreat of her boat's crew. The firing which thus began soon became general; the battle which ensued lasted for four hours. It

The battle of Navarino.

[1] The protocol of the allied admirals will be found in *Codrington*, vol. ii. p. 61. This portion of my narrative is mainly founded on the letters in that work. The protocol uses the word "renewed," which is, therefore, retained in the text. But the admirals evidently meant to make new propositions to Ibrahim

only ceased as, one by one, the Ottoman vessels drifted disabled out of the action. The Turks themselves during the ensuing night blew up thirty-seven of their disabled ships. When the morning broke, the bay was covered with the wrecks of the Ottoman fleet. "Out of a fleet composed of sixty men of war," said Codrington, in his general order after the action, "there remain only one frigate and fifteen smaller vessels in a state ever to be again put to sea."[1]

British, Russians, and French had all done their duty well. But they had paid dearly for the victory which they had won. The British fleet alone had a loss of 70 killed and 189 wounded; the French of 43 killed and 144 wounded.[2] Captain Bathurst, commanding the *Genoa*, fell at the commencement of the action. Codrington's son, a midshipman on board the *Asia*, was severely wounded. But the loss, heavy as it was, was not too great a price to pay for such a victory. The annihilation of the Turkish fleet roused Greece from her despair, and altered the conditions of the contest which she had hitherto waged, almost hopelessly, with her brutal oppressors.

[1] Codrington, vol. ii. p. 91.

[2] *Ann. Reg.*, 1827, Chron., p. 415. Alison gives the numbers differently, but inaccurately. See his History, vol. iii. p. 229.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PASSAGE OF THE REFORM ACT.

The news of the battle of Navarino reached England on the 10th of November 1827. The members of the Cabinet were gradually collecting in London; they were able to meet and talk over the unexpected intelligence. It was easy to see that the destruction of the Turkish fleet would necessarily lead to the independence of the Morea. The Turks would obviously be unable to supply their troops by land; and they would also be prevented from obtaining further assistance from Egypt. Codrington's victory at Navarino thus involved the ultimate independence of Greece. But this result might either be expedited or retarded by the conduct of the allies. The Treaty of London had pledged "the high contracting powers to exert all the means which circumstances may suggest to their prudence" to force an armistice on the combatants. No one could pretend that Codrington had exhausted all the means at the disposal of the allies. It was, on the contrary, notorious that Russia was massing an army on the Pruth, and prepared at any moment to occupy the Turkish provinces on the Danube. The British ministry was in the meanwhile torn by dissensions. Its members had not originally applied the same interpretation to the Treaty of London, and they were not agreed upon the policy which they should pursue. Huskisson, Dudley, Palmerston, and the remnant of Canning's friends were disposed to regard the battle as a fortunate event, to allow matters to take their course, and to suffer Russia to go to war with Turkey. The Tory members of the Cabinet, on the contrary, were startled at the interpretation which Codrington had given to

The news of Navarino reaches London.

their own instructions, and at the prostration of Turkey before its hereditary foe.[1]

Sir John Gore instructed to report upon the engagement.

While the Cabinet was deliberating on the policy which it should pursue, the king and his brother, the Lord High Admiral, acted. The Duke of Clarence cared very little for the political questions involved in Codrington's conduct, but he took the interest, which every British sailor felt, in the last achievement of the British fleet. Three days after the news of Navarino reached this country, the *Gazette* announced that Codrington had received the Grand Cross of the Bath, and that some of his officers had been made Knights Commanders of the Bath for their services in the action.[2] The king and the Duke of Clarence had practically settled the question on which the Cabinet had been anxiously deliberating. It was clearly impossible to recall the admiral whom the sovereign had just rewarded. But ministers were not satisfied with the prudence of Codrington's conduct. They drew up a series of questions which they required him to answer; and they sent out Sir John Gore to inquire into the circumstances which had led to the action. Gore reported in Codrington's favour. He declared that the battle "did not commence with the allies," and that Codrington had taken "a dispassionate, enlightened, and extensive view" of his instructions.[3] Those members of the Cabinet who had regretted the engagement had nothing to do but conceal their annoyance.

The formation of Wellington's ministry.

Goderich's Administration soon afterwards crumbled into pieces; Wellington was desired to form a ministry; and on his accession to power the policy of the battle became again an open question. Wellington had not approved the policy of the Treaty of London. He thought that Navarino had been fought "under false pretences."[4] Peel had never concealed his apprehensions of the

[1] Bulwer's *Palmerston*, vol. i. p. 206. Greville, vol. i. p. 114.

[2] *London Gazette*, 13th November. Codrington, vol. ii. p. 115.

[3] The questions will be found in Codrington, vol. ii. p. 126. Gore's report in ibid., p. 136.

[4] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. vii. p. 171.

possible consequences of the action:[1] and the Tories, as a party, had supported Turkey against Russia. It seemed possible, therefore, that the new ministry might endeavour to reverse the policy of 1827, or, at any rate, to check the advance of Russia in the East. Huskisson, to whom Wellington at once offered high office, shared these apprehensions. He was reassured by the promise that Dudley was to be left at the Foreign Office. Dudley was the minister who had signed the Treaty of London; but this single incident in his career gave only an imperfect illustration of his views on Eastern politics. "I have always reckoned it," so he wrote a few years before, "to be the disgrace of Christendom to suffer those hateful barbarians, the Turks, to remain encamped upon the finest and most renowned part of Europe for upwards of four centuries, during at least two of which it has been in our power to drive them out whenever we pleased. Let us, at least, have one civilised and Christian quarter of the globe, though it is the smallest. If three Christian sovereigns could divide Christian Poland, and that without interference on the part of England, surely her safety cannot be bound up in the existence of a barbarous Mohammedan despotism. Her influence and authority would, no doubt, be well employed in modifying the new arrangement that would arise upon any downfall of the Ottoman power; *e.g.*, in preventing it from turning too much to the profit of the Russians, and too little to that of the Greeks; but it would be a paltry, mistaken policy to prevent the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, where they have only appeared as usurpers and tyrants."[2]

Dudley's views on the Eastern question.

Dudley's presence in the Cabinet was, therefore, reassuring to Huskisson. Wellington, when he read Gore's report and Codrington's explanation, expressed himself satisfied with the latter's conduct.[3] The Cabinet decided on adhering to the policy of the Treaty of London,

The notice of Navarino in the speech.

[1] Colchester, vol. iii. p. 526.
[2] Ward's Correspondence with the Bishop of Llandaff, p. 288.
[3] Palmerston, p. 219.

though many of its members regretted that it had been necessary to carry it out by force. At the end of the month the compromise which was thus arranged was expressed in words. The king, in opening Parliament, was advised to refer to the circumstances under which the Treaty of London had been executed, and to the measures which had been taken to give effect to it. In their execution "a collision, wholly unexpected by his Majesty, took place in the port of Navarino. His Majesty deeply laments that this conflict should have occurred with the naval force of an ancient ally; but he still entertains a confident hope that this untoward event will not be followed by further hostilities, and will not impede that amicable adjustment of existing difficulties between the Porte and the Greeks to which it is so manifestly their common interest to accede."[1] The ministry does not seem to have anticipated the burst of indignation which this language provoked. "If," said Lord Holland, "it is meant by 'untoward'" to cast any blame upon "the gallant officer who commanded the fleet at Navarino, against the baseness and ignominy of such an insinuation I would protest in the most solemn way. If we are to understand that" the word "refers to that which happened by accident, I must also protest against it. However much I may lament the effusion of blood which has taken place at Navarino, I look upon" the battle "as a step, and a great step, towards the pacification of Europe." Almost at the same moment Brougham was expressing a similar opinion in the House of Commons, and declaring that his views would be "re-echoed from one end of the kingdom to the other." "The battle of Navarino," said Althorp, "was a necessary consequence of the Treaty of London." "The battle of Navarino," said Russell, 'was a glorious victory, and as honest a victory as had ever been gained since the beginning of the world."[2] The author of "Hohenlinden" shared the indignation of the Whig leaders:

Remonstrances against the language of the speech.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xviii. p. 3. The king had the good sense to object to the use of the word "untoward," and Peel also disliked it. Ellenborough, vol. i. p. 9.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. xviii. pp. 23, 52, 60, 67.

"Yet Navarin's heroes! does Christendom breed
The base hearts that will question the fame of your deed?
Are they men?—let ineffable scorn be their meed,
And oblivion shadow their graves!—
Are they women?—to Turkish serails let them speed,
And be mothers of Mussulman slaves."

The burst of indignation with which the allusion to Navarino was received strengthened the hands of the Liberal section of the Cabinet. But the speech had been no sooner delivered than the ministry had occasion to doubt the propriety of its language. The news of the battle reached Constantinople on the 1st of November. The ministers of the Porte did not lose their composure; they informed the ambassadors of the allied powers that they expected the allies to desist from all interference in the affairs of Greece, and to indemnify the Porte for the destruction of its fleet. The ambassadors naturally replied that the Treaty of London was still in force, and that the battle of Navarino was commenced by the Turks themselves. The allies could not, therefore, consistently with the treaty, abandon the Greeks; and they could not recognise the Turkish claim to compensation for its fleet.[1] Some unimportant communications subsequently took place between the Porte and the ambassadors. Both sides, however, declined to give way, and, on the 8th of December, the ambassadors left Constantinople. It was obvious that their withdrawal from the Porte made war likely: the action of the Turks made it inevitable. On the 30th of November the Porte had the folly to issue a Hatti Scheriff, in which it declared that the concessions which had been already made by it had been only due to its desire to gain time, and that the stipulations of Ackermann were unjust, and had only "hitherto" been complied with. The Hatti Scheriff denounced the conduct of the allies as a declaration of war, and called on all the faithful "rich and poor, great or little," to take up arms, as the only "means of working out salvation in this world and the next."[2]

Effects of the battle at the Porte.

The Porte issues a Hatti Scheriff.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. xvii. p. 26.

[2] The Hatti Scheriff will be found, in French, in *State Papers*, vol. xiv p. 1052; in English, *Ann. Reg.*, 1828. Chron., p. 397.

The Hatti Scheriff was communicated privately to the Turkish officials, but copies of it soon found their way into the Continental papers.[1] The Porte, moreover, followed up its threats with acts which rendered the meaning of its language no longer doubtful. In defiance of the Treaty of Ackermann, Russian ships were stopped at Constantinople, Russian subjects were expelled from Turkey, and the Porte persuaded Persia to continue a war with the Russians in which she was involved. Russia, thus receiving a distinct intimation that she had been deceived at Ackermann, resolved upon war. The Hatti Scheriff of December had assured her, in the first instance, that the treaty was regarded as an absurdity. The stoppage of her commerce at Constantinople, and the consequent paralysis of her trade, made peace impossible. She had no alternative but to accept the issue, and "to reply to war by war."[2] Nesselrode, indeed, in announcing the intention of the Russian Government, declared that the Emperor had no desire either for conquest or for the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. He was sincerely anxious to adhere to the Treaty of London; and, in his opinion, the allies might continue to carry out the treaty. If, however, Russia were abandoned by her allies, she would none the less proceed to execute the treaty alone: "Mais elle ne pourra consulter, dans le mode d'exécution de cet acte, que ses intérêts et ses convenances."[3]

Russia declares war.

[1] I have purposely endeavoured in the text to give the mildest interpretation of the words of the Hatti Scheriff. They are: "L'année passée même, quoique les propositions absurdes, faites par la Russie à Akerman sur les indemnités, ne fussent pas de nature à être acceptées, la Sublime Porte y adhéra, malgré elle, pour se conformer à l'urgence du moment et pour sauver la nation mussulmane, en attendant une meilleure occasion. *Jusqu'à présent* la majeure partie des articles a été mise à exécution." Peel said of this paragraph: "She Turkey) had signed the Treaty of Ackermann with the intention of violating it, and that she never would fulfil any of its conditions." (*Hansard*, vol. xxii. p. 554.) The "absurdes" was left out of the passage when it was translated for the British public! *Ann. Reg.*, 1828, Chron., p. 398.

[2] See Nesselrode's despatch to Lieven (Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iv. p. 284). *State Papers*, vol. xvii. p. 50.

[3] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iv. p. 285. *State Papers*, vol. xvii. p. 57. The concluding words were especially displeasing to Wellington.

The situation was undoubtedly embarrassing. The solitary convenience which Wellington and the Tories had hoped to derive from the treaty of July had been lost through "the infatuation"[1] of the Turkish Government. The treaty had tied Russia's hands and compelled her to march in concert with the allies; the folly of the Porte had given her not only an excuse, but a justification, for independent action. Aberdeen, indeed, who was already taking a considerable part in the Cabinet discussions on foreign policy, thought that the abandonment of neutrality by Russia afforded an excuse for tearing up the Treaty of London. But his advice was clearly impracticable. The country, moved by the story of Greek suffering, and animated by the news of the glorious battle of Navarino, was anxious for intervention. The Russian Government was urging its allies to united action. The French Government was insisting on the immediate adoption of energetic measures against the Porte.[2] A refusal on the part of the British ministry to join with its allies in united action could only lead to the isolation of Britain. France and Russia would still pursue the work of pacifying Greece, and they would do so without either asking or attending to the advice of the British Government.

Russia and France had already explained the measures which they thought necessary in the crisis. Russia proposed to move an army through the Principalities into Turkey, and simultaneously to attack Constantinople with the allied fleet. Turkey was, in short, to be assailed in the most effective manner, and peace was to be secured on the ruins of the Turkish Empire.[3] France proposed a course which was slightly more moderate. Russia, in her judgment, should occupy the Principalities; the allied fleet should blockade Constantinople; and Turkey, after these measures had been adopted, should again be asked to accept the Treaty of London. The Russian proposal involved war;

The views of the Allies.

1 Peel's speech (*Hansard*, vol. xxii. p. 554).

2 The French despatch will be found in Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iv. p. 270.

3 *State Papers*, vol. xvii. p. 30.

the French alternative would probably lead to war; and the British Cabinet was not prepared to accede to any plan involving hostilities. Wellington was willing to prevent the despatch of reinforcements by sea to the Turkish armies in Greece; but he was not ready to sanction any more active measures. The allies, then, were by no means agreed upon the proper means for securing the pacification of Greece. The British Government had not even made up its mind what independence Greece should enjoy, or what limits she should be given. Wellington desired to confine Greece to the Morea and a few islands; to compel the Greeks to pay a tribute of £200,000 a year and an indemnity of £1,500,000, and to follow the Turks in peace and war. But the proposal was received with indignation in his own Cabinet. Even Aberdeen denounced it. He knew, he said, that the whole tribute of the Morea could be carried on the backs of twelve mules. Peel declared that he preferred independence to suzerainty; and Palmerston objected to the narrow limits of the new territory.[1] The limits which the Duke proposed for modern Greece seemed, indeed, almost purposely designed to provoke criticism. A territory which did not include Athens, which did not include Thebes, which did not include Missolonghi, which did not include Thermopylæ, which did not include Marathon—a territory whose limits did not embrace Helicon, or Parnassus, or Pindus, or Pelion, or Ossa, might possibly acquire a partial independence, but it could not be Greece. The scenes which had made the Greek race famous, the hills whose names were associated with Greek literature, the fields which had been hallowed by Greek blood, were excluded from it. Greece without Athens would be France without Paris. Greece without Marathon would be Scotland without Bannockburn.

In the meanwhile the necessity for enforcing the treaty had become more marked. The allied fleets, after the battle of Navarino, had retired to Malta and other places for the necessary repairs. During their absence a considerable num-

[1] Bulwer's *Palmerston*, vol. i. p. 230.

ber of Turkish and Egyptian vessels succeeded in reaching Navarino, in embarking some invalid and wounded soldiers of Ibrahim's army and some 5500 Greeks, and in proceeding safely to Alexandria. The wretched Greeks, immediately after their arrival in Egypt, were sold into slavery. The first report of this unfortunate circumstance reached London in a despatch from Codrington. The Government, within forty-eight hours of the receipt of it, made the most active inquiries into the facts.[1] The inquiries unfortunately established the truth of the story. The British Consul at Alexandria reported that the Greeks, who were chiefly women and children, had "arrived in the most wretched state of suffering from hunger and grief." The members of the Cabinet received the news with different feelings. Aberdeen thought that Britain had no right to interfere in the matter; Bathurst regarded the conduct of the Turks as legitimate; Ellenborough's feelings on the subject were even stronger than Bathurst's. Palmerston, on the contrary, insisted that the removal of the Greeks was a stain on the national character, and that every effort should be made to recover the miserable captives.[2] The Cabinet received Palmerston's advice coldly. Its members contented themselves with finding fault with Codrington. Huskisson denounced his "lamentable incompetence and self-sufficiency."[3] Palmerston derided his boasted annihilation of the Turkish fleet. His supersession was determined on; but it was decided, in the first instance, to call upon him to explain how the Ottoman fleet could have sailed from Navarino to Alexandria without his knowledge.[4] The information seemed

An Egyptian fleet enters and leaves Navarino.

[1] Lady Bourchier, in her anxiety to defend her father, inserts a memorandum of her brother's which accuses Peel of falsehood, making him say, "In forty-eight hours after the news arrived communications were made to the British admiral." Peel really said, "Within forty-eight hours after the arrival of the news the most active inquiry had been entered upon by Government." Cf. Codrington, vol. ii. p. 175; and *Hansard*, vol. xviii. p. 1441. The previous speech of Huskisson, referred to in the same memorandum, is not reported in *Hansard*.

[2] Palmerston, vol. i. p. 291.

[3] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iv. pp. 345, 423.

[4] Palmerston, vol. i. p. 231.

the more requisite since he himself had reported, with the allied admirals, that an "armistice de mer existe de fait du côte des Turcs; leur flotte n'existe plus." [1]

Codrington's explanation [2] was not regarded as satisfactory by the Government. It was determined to recall him, and the Lord High Admiral was instructed to select a competent successor. An unexpected circumstance, however, delayed the formal notification of the Cabinet's decision. The Cabinet which decided on Codrington's recall was the last which was attended by all the members of Wellington's Administration. Huskisson's vote on the East Retford question, and his hasty letter to the Prime Minister, led to his own resignation, and to the retirement of Palmerston, Dudley, and Grant. The despatch which had been prepared recalling Codrington lay unsigned at the Foreign Office. It had been approved by the Cabinet on the 19th of May, but it did not leave London till the 4th of June. It was not received by Codrington till the end of that month; and Pulteney Malcolm, who was appointed to succeed him, did not relieve him of his command till the following August. The delay which thus took place was fortunate for Codrington. It enabled him to repair the consequences of the error which he had committed in allowing the Egyptian fleet to escape from Navarino.

Codrington recalled.

News arrived in London, at the beginning of April, that the Turks, alarmed at the imminence of war with Russia, had ordered their commanders in Greece to suspend hostilities for three months. The Cabinet at once forwarded fresh instructions to Codrington. The blockade of the Morea was to be continued more strictly than ever; and, if the stringency of the blockade should dispose Ibrahim to withdraw his forces from Greece, every facility for doing so should be afforded him. But at the same time an intimation was to be made that the British Government hoped that the Pacha would release any Greek women or children who had

The evacuation of the Morea.

[1] Codrington, vol. ii. p. 231. [2] Ibid., p. 232.

been sent as slaves from the Morea to Egypt.[1] Codrington carried out these instructions to the best of his ability. With the aid of the French and Russian squadrons he maintained an effective blockade of the coasts of Greece, and prevented any large supplies reaching Ibrahim. Ibrahim found his food gradually failing, and wrote to Egypt for stores. Mehemet Ali referred him, in reply, to the allied admirals. The allied admirals told him that the blockade would be continued with the utmost rigour.[2] Ibrahim expressed his readiness to embark if a Turkish fleet were sent to enable him to do so. Encouraged by the evident anxiety of Ibrahim to escape from his situation, Codrington addressed himself personally to Mehemet Ali at Alexandria. The Pacha, Codrington found, was as anxious as Ibrahim for an honourable excuse for withdrawing from the war. The basis of an agreement for this purpose was at once arranged. The Pacha undertook to give orders for the evacuation of the Morea, and to send transports to Navarino for the accommodation of the troops. He engaged to give up at once the Greek slaves in his own possession, and to use his influence to obtain the release of the other captives who were not under his own control.[3]

The conclusion of this arrangement with Mehemet Ali did not secure the complete evacuation of the Morea by the Ottoman troops. In addition to his own men, Ibrahim had detachments of Turks and Albanians under his orders; and Mehemet Ali, in withdrawing his army, stipulated that five fortresses, Patras, Castel Tornese, Navarino, Modon, and Coron, should continue in Turkish occupation. The Turkish garrisons, however, which were thus left

The French expedition to the Morea.

[1] Codrington, vol. ii. p. 254. Cf. Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iv. pp. 337, 344.

[2] Codrington, vol. ii. p. 360. The Russian and French admirals only were present at the interview. Codrington was represented by Captain Campbell.

[3] The best account of these negotiations is to be found in Codrington, vol. ii. pp. 383–406. The preliminaries were concluded by Barker, the English Consul, and Drovetti, the French Consul, at Alexandria. Consul Barker seems to have done his work well, and to deserve more credit for it than he has received. Cf. *State Papers*, vol. xvii. p. 380; and *Ann. Reg.*, Hist., 1828, p. 242.

in possession of a few strong points in the Morea were not long permitted to enjoy their position. Early in the spring the French Government had proposed that, in conjunction with their allies, they should send a strong force to the Morea and sweep the Turks from the territory. The proposal had been strongly supported by Palmerston, but it had been resisted by Wellington, and abandoned on his remonstrance.[1] As the year advanced, however, the French people became more clamorous in their desire to afford effective assistance to the Greeks. The French Government again and again renewed its proposal, and the Duke, changing his front, found it necessary to assent to it. The British Government was not, indeed, in a position to send troops to the Morea; but it was ready to contribute in every way to the success of the French expedition, either by increasing its naval force in the Mediterranean or by supplying transports for the conveyance of the French troops. A formal protocol, embodying these views, was signed at the Foreign Office in London on the 19th of July 1828.[2] Eighteen thousand French soldiers, under the command of General Maison, were soon afterwards embarked for the Morea. The slender Turkish garrisons, attacked by this force, were compelled to surrender; and before the close of the year the Morea was completely freed from the last remnant of the Ottoman soldiery.[3]

The Conference at Poros.

Though the Morea had been freed from the rule of its conquerors, its liberators had many difficult questions to discuss and to settle. They held different views upon the proper boundaries for the new state; they held various opinions upon the degree of independence which it should receive. During the early part of 1828 these questions had been anxiously considered at conferences held in London by the plenipotentiaries of the allies. But the Russian despatch of February, which had announced Nicholas's intention to carry out the treaty "selon ses intérêts et ses

[1] Palmerston, vol. i. p. 288.
[2] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iv. p. 543. *State Papers*, vol. xvii. p. 98.
[3] *Ann. Reg.*, 1828, Hist., p. 243.

convenances," had led to the suspension of these conferences.[1] Russia, however, agreed to lay aside her belligerent rights in the Mediterranean, and the conferences were immediately resumed.[2] Soon after their resumption the plenipotentiaries decided to send the three ambassadors who had represented them at Constantinople to some convenient island in the Archipelago, to ascertain the best natural frontier for the new state, the amount of tribute which it should pay to the Porte, and the degree of independence which it should enjoy.[3] In accordance with these instructions the ambassadors proceeded to Poros. They agreed on recommending their Governments to adopt the largest boundaries which had ever been suggested; they cut down the Greek tribute to 1,500,000 piastres; and they recommended that the new state should be placed under an hereditary Christian prince. The recommendations were in every way opposed to the opinions of the British Cabinet. But they had received the support of Stratford Canning, who represented the Cabinet at Poros; and the British Government could not, therefore, reject them. A conference was held in London on the 22nd of March 1829, between the plenipotentiaries of the three allies, at which it was decided to adopt the conclusions of Poros as a basis for future negotiations, and to instruct the representatives of France and England, who were to return to Constantinople, to lay them before the Porte.[4] The British Government reluctantly acceded to this arrangement. It stipulated that the conclusions of Poros should be used only as the basis of discussion, and that they should not be tendered to the Porte as an ultimatum.[5] But, with this reservation, the British plenipotentiary agreed to the protocol which was drawn up at the conference.

Stratford Canning had filled the post of ambassador at the Porte from the autumn of 1825; he had displayed marked ability in the difficult negotiations with which he had from time to time been entrusted. But his opinions on the Greek

[1] *State Papers*, vol. xvii. p. 80. [2] Ibid., pp. 74, 85.

[3] Ibid., pp. 87–90. The three ambassadors were Stratford Canning, Guilleminot, and Ribeaupierre.

[4] *State Papers*, vol. xvii. p. 132. [5] Ibid., p. 161.

question materially differed from the conclusions of the British Government. He felt that his position at Constantinople would be false if he were to be the representative of a Government desirous of confining the new territory to the Morea and the adjacent islands, and he accordingly conditionally tendered his resignation of his post. Aberdeen accepted his resignation, and appointed as his successor his own brother, Robert Gordon.[1] Gordon and Guilleminot, the French ambassador, reached Constantinople on the 18th of June. With considerable difficulty they induced the Porte to accept the Treaty of London. But the Porte attached five conditions to its acceptance of the treaty. The new state was only to include the Morea and the adjacent islands; the tribute payable by it was to be apportioned to the revenue which it had formerly rendered to the Porte; materials of war found in the Turkish fortresses were to be restored to the Porte; the naval and military force of Greece was to be merely sufficient to preserve internal order; and no Greek was to leave the Ottoman dominions and settle in the new territory.[2] The Porte assented to the treaty on these conditions on the 15th of August. The plenipotentiaries of the allies met in London on the 19th of September to receive the Porte's answer. The French and Russian plenipotentiaries thought that the five conditions which the Porte had attached to its acceptance of the treaty vitiated its proceedings. The treaty of July must, in their judgment, be construed by the light of the protocol of March, and the acceptance both of treaty and protocol by the Porte must be complete, and not conditional. It was in vain that the British plenipotentiary, who secretly desired to get rid of the protocol of March, contended that the accession of the Porte to the treaty was complete. The French and Russian plenipotentiaries stood firm, and the British plenipotentiary, protesting stoutly to the end, had to give way.[3]

Stratford Canning superseded.

The Porte accepts the Treaty of London conditionally.

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. vi. pp. 11, 12, 15.
[2] *State Papers*, vol. xvii. pp. 174, 186.
[3] Ibid., pp. 189–191.

Events were, in fact, succeeding one another so rapidly, that the British plenipotentiary had no alternative but to surrender his opinion. The questions which the plenipotentiaries were discussing were, in reality, being settled by the crash of arms in Eastern Europe. In 1828, indeed, the war reflected little credit on the Russian army. In Asia Minor, Paskievitsch captured Anapa, and, by a bold assault, obtained possession of Kars; while, in Europe, the Russians crossed the Danube at Brailow, and, by the treachery of a Turkish officer, succeeded in reducing Varna. But these achievements were accomplished after considerable losses, and were not so great as Europe had anticipated. Turkey had unexpectedly displayed a capacity for defence with which friends and foes had equally refused to credit her; and competent military critics speculated on the possibility of her successfully guarding the road to her capital. The Russians, however, annoyed at the ill-success of her arms, made elaborate preparations for pushing the campaign to a successful issue in 1829. In the middle of May, Diebitsch, the Russian general, invested Silistria. On the 10th of June he defeated the only Turkish army which was capable of relieving the fortress; and, after a six weeks' siege, Silistria surrendered. Masking the great position of Shumla, Diebitsch decided on crossing the Balkans and on carrying the war into the heart of Roumelia. The movement was commenced on the 11th of July; it was concluded in nine days. Enfeebled by dysentery and disease, and wearied with a long and laborious march over a chain of mountains, which had only once before been crossed from north to south by a military force in the face of an opposing army, the Russian soldiers broke into a cry of delight as, emerging from the defiles, they saw their transports, laden with supplies, on the broad waters of the Bay of Bourgas beneath them. Diebitsch had only "besieged one fortress and fought one battle, but this" had "brought him into the very heart of the hostile territory." He had "arrived there followed by the shadow of an army, but with the reputation of irresistible success."[1]

The progress of the Russo-Turkish war.

[1] Moltke, p. 476, quoted in Creasy's *Ottoman Turks*, p. 515. Wellington *Despatches*, vol. vi. p. 194.

The successes which had attended their arms naturally induced the Russians to raise their demands. The British Government had only reluctantly accepted the protocol of March as a basis for discussion. The Russians, after Diebitsch's first victory, converted it into an ultimatum.[1] Diebitsch had made it impracticable to confine the Greeks to the narrow limits of the Morea; and Aberdeen, unwilling to create a new power in the East, suggested the formation of two weak states instead of one strong one.[2] The proposition neither merited nor received serious consideration. The continuous advance of Diebitsch made all such suggestions useless. The question for consideration in August was not whether the boundaries of Greece should be more or less enlarged, but whether the Ottoman Empire could be preserved from annihilation. The Porte, awakening to its danger, hurriedly accepted the Treaty of London. Austria, aroused to the possibility of a Russian occupation of Constantinople, and unprepared for war,[3] urged the immediate pacification of Greece. Gordon, the British ambassador at Constantinople, and Müffling, the Prussian representative, begged the Turks to sue for peace.[4] Diebitsch, whose army was melting away from disease, paused in his march, and on the 14th of September peace was signed at Adrianople between Russia and the Porte.[5]

The Treaty of Adrianople.

The Peace of Adrianople continued the Pruth as the boundary of the Russian Empire in Europe. It left Russia, therefore, with a partial command of the mouths of the Danube. It extended the Russian frontier in Asia towards the south, including in it the fortress of Akhalzik and the port of Poti. Moldavia and Wallachia were placed under the Porte, but their prosperity was guaranteed by Russia; and the Porte was compelled to accept the treaty of July and the interpretation which the protocol of March had placed on the treaty. Russian commerce was

The terms of the treaty.

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. vi. p. 13.
[2] Ibid., p. 29.
[3] Ibid., vol. v. p. 408.
[4] Ibid., vol. vi. p. 188.
[5] Ibid., pp. 205, 212.

freed from every restriction placed on it by the Porte. The Porte was required to pay an indemnity of £5,750,000, and its territory was to be only gradually evacuated as the indemnity was paid. The British ministry received the news of this treaty with much concern. Wellington had, from the first, distrusted the designs of Russia; he had never believed in the moderate professions which she had made before the war broke out.[1] He did not believe in the desire which Nicholas professed for the restoration of peace.[2] He was jealous of Russian aggrandisement, and his jealousy was increased by the foolish conduct of the Russian ambassador in London. Monsieur de Lieven allowed his wife to mix in English politics, and to engage in a plot with the Duke of Cumberland for Wellington's dismissal. Madame de Lieven's conduct produced a coolness between the British and Russian ministries, which was unfortunate for both countries.[3] But the jealousy which was thus promoted did not disturb the Duke's calmer judgment of events. He thought the surrender of Poti to Russia unfortunate, but he was too wise to go to war to prevent the cession of a port which ninety-nine Englishmen out of every hundred had never heard of.[4] He thought that the dismemberment of Turkey would have been preferable to the conditions of Adrianople,[5] but he saw that it was hopeless to fight against the treaty. All that it was possible to do was to arrange the boundary for Greece which should give the new state the least possible independence.

The failure of Wellington's foreign policy.

Aberdeen, who was, if possible, more Turkish than the Duke, had already suggested that modern Greece should be weakened by being divided into two nations. He subsequently proposed to give the Greeks Attica, and to leave the Turks the adjacent islands of Eubœa and Crete. If Turkish power be "good for anything, the possession of Candia and Eubœa ought effectually to control Greece."[6] Aberdeen's second proposi-

[1] Wellington, vol. vi. p. 212.
[2] Ibid., p. 99.
[3] Ibid., pp. 103, 145.
[4] Ibid., p. 57.
[5] Ibid., p. 218.
[6] Ibid., p. 176.

tion was as impracticable as his first. Russia had taken the Greek question into her own hands. All that the British and French Governments could do was to induce her to restore its management to the allies. But this was the only material concession which Aberdeen was able to obtain. The bounds of the new state were carried to Thermopylæ on the one side, and to the mouth of the Aspropotamos on the other; Eubœa and Skyro were ceded to it; Greece was declared to be independent of the Porte, and was placed under the rule of an hereditary sovereign.[1] In every respect, therefore, the views of Wellington's Government had been ignored. Canning had raised the influence of his country by cordially co-operating with Russia and France on the Eastern question; in consequence the lead in the negotiations had passed into his hands. Wellington had reduced British influence by constantly thwarting his allies, and in consequence the Eastern question had passed out of his control. He had done everything in his power to prevail upon Canning not to agree to the treaty of July;[2] the treaty of July had been signed. He had resisted the despatch of French troops to the Morea; and he had been compelled to be an assenting party to the French expedition. He had agreed to the protocol of March on condition that it should only be made a basis for discussion; the protocol had been converted into an ultimatum. He had desired to confine the Greek territory to the Morea and the adjacent islands; the extended limits, preferred by France and Russia, had been adopted. He had proposed that the Greeks should pay a heavy tribute, and they had been freed from any tribute whatever. Every position which he had successively assumed had been abandoned in turn. Every suggestion

[1] Protocol, 3rd February 1830, *State Papers*, vol. xvii. p. 191. See also Wellington, vol. vi. p. 219, for the previous negotiations. The subsequent negotiations, relative to the offer of the sovereignty to Leopold and its acceptance by Otho, are omitted from this work, since they have no immediate bearing on British history. An account of them will be found in *State Papers*, vol. xviii. p. 597.

[2] See his letters to Prince of Orange (Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iv. p. 335).

which he had made had been rejected by his allies. The Greek affair, he wrote, "was the most unfortunate in which Europe was ever engaged."[1] In one sense his conclusion was true: his management of it had brought contempt on the counsels of his country.

The failure of Wellington's foreign policy naturally discredited his Government. The Tories were annoyed at the declining influence of their country; the Liberals at the obstacles which had been raised to the cause of Greek independence; and this annoyance was increased by the events which, at the same period, occurred in another portion of Europe. Portugal had been the scene of Canning's most popular action. The great speech in which he had announced the decision of his Government to shelter the Constitutional Regent from foreign attack was still fresh in the memory of the Liberal party. Canning had contemplated the possibility of a war of opinions, and had summoned all that was liberal in Europe to serve under the banners of Britain. His speech, and the action which followed it, had been successful. The armed bands which had crossed the Spanish frontier into Portugal were beaten by the Portuguese troops, and the presence of a British force in Lisbon gave confidence to the loyal. The success which Canning's policy obtained supplied the justification that his admirers required for it. But, as the year wore on, the Absolutists recovered their hopes and recommenced their intrigues for the subversion of the Constitution. Dom Miguel gave them some encouragement. In abdicating the throne of Portugal in his daughter's favour, Dom Pedro had declared that his abdication should be completed by the acceptance of the Constitution and the conclusion of Donna Maria's marriage with Dom Miguel. The second of these stipulations had not been carried out; Donna Maria's tender age made its performance impossible; and Dom Pedro consequently concluded that his abdication was not complete. It was still open to him, therefore, as king, to make new arrangements

Portugal.

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. vii. p. 78.

for the Regency. Rumours reached Brazil of continued disturbances in Portugal. Reports arrived at the same time of the dangerous illness of the Infanta Isabella, the Regent. The Regent's natural successor in the Regency would be Dom Miguel. Dom Miguel's appointment afforded apparently the best chance of terminating the existing disturbances, and Dom Pedro accordingly decided on appointing his brother Regent.

The decree in which the appointment was made was signed at Rio de Janeiro on the 3rd of July 1827.[1] It reached Dom Miguel in Vienna, where he was residing. Those who were best acquainted with Dom Miguel's views had some anxiety to see how he would receive it. It was no secret that he claimed the Regency of Portugal as of right under the terms of Dom Pedro's Constitution;[2] and it was thought doubtful whether he would be willing to renounce his own rights by accepting it from his brother's hands. Conferences were held at Vienna between Dom Miguel's representative, the Austrian minister, and the British ambassador. The Austrian ministry seriously contemplated placing some restrictions on Dom Miguel's movements. Its suspicions were, however, allayed by the promises which the prince readily made. He undertook to go to Portugal—not through Spain, as he had originally contemplated—but through England, where there was little danger of his meeting his Absolutist supporters. He assured his sister, the Regent, whom he was superseding, of his intention to maintain the Constitution; and he disarmed even experienced diplomatists by the readiness with which he professed his desire to bury in oblivion the faults and errors of his past career, and to regulate his future conduct by the laws which he had sworn to observe.[3]

Dom Miguel accepts the Regency.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. xiv. p. 1130.

[2] Dom Pedro had made his sister Regent, until Miguel, having fulfilled the conditions of the charter, and having completed his twenty-fifth year, should succeed to the administration of the kingdom. The Constitutionalists considered that these conditions pointed to the conclusion of the marriage. Dom Miguel thought that they were fulfilled on his attaining the prescribed age.

[3] *State Papers*, vol. xv. pp. 978–996.

Dom Miguel, making every promise that was demanded of him, was permitted to proceed from Vienna to London. He arrived in England at the end of 1827; he remained there till the middle of February 1828, enjoying the pleasures of English society, and allaying, by the warmth of his manner, any lurking suspicions of his sincerity. In the middle of February he sailed for Portugal; on the 22nd he arrived in the Tagus; on the 26th he took the oath prescribed by the Constitution. He had hardly sworn to preserve the Constitution before his adherents "assailed him with recommendations to break it." "Declare yourself king; reign without the Chambers," was the persistent advice of the Absolutists. "Long live Dom Miguel, *il re assoluto!*" was the shout with which he was everywhere received in the capital.[1] Counsel and applause fell upon open ears. On the 11th of March the commanding officers of seven regiments, composing the garrison of Lisbon, were removed; on the 14th the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved. In the course of April the municipalities of some Portuguese towns memorialised Dom Miguel to declare himself legitimate king, and the Portuguese press published articles to prove his claims to the throne. On the 25th of April a tumultuous assemblage in Lisbon proclaimed him king. The nobles, backing up the municipalities and the population, begged Dom Miguel to convoke the three estates of the kingdom, to ask them to pronounce on his claims, and to abolish the Constitutional charter. Forgetting both promise and oath, Dom Miguel, on the 3rd of May, issued a decree accordingly. On the 23rd of June the Cortes met, and on the 1st of July Dom Miguel formally accepted the crown, which was immediately tendered to him.[2]

Absolutist revolution in Portugal.

Sir Frederick Lamb, who was British minister at Lisbon, saw from the first an evident determination on Dom Miguel's part to usurp the throne. Upon his own responsibility he took a decided step for the purpose of thwarting the usurper's

1 *State Papers*, vol. xvi. p. 398. *Ann. Reg.*, 1828, Hist., p. 184.
2 See Sir F. Lamb's despatches (*State Papers*, vol. xvi. pp. 398–417).

views. The force which had been sent from Britain to Portugal in 1827 was still in Lisbon, but it was under orders to return home. Lamb detained it; and the Constitutionalists took heart at the detention of an army which had notoriously been sent, in the first instance, to aid them. The British ministers approved the provisional act of their representative, but they nevertheless decided on recalling the troops.[1] They thought that it was impossible for them to interfere in the internal affairs of another country; and that the utmost they could do was to withdraw their minister from Lisbon in the event of Dom Miguel actually usurping the crown. The withdrawal of the British troops removed the only impediment which had hitherto interfered with Dom Miguel's proceedings. But the assent of the Portuguese to his usurpation was less unanimous than he had probably expected. The inhabitants of Oporto declared their determination to support Dom Pedro. The garrison of the port adopted the same cause. Strengthened by the adherence of other regiments stationed in the neighbourhood, they marched upon Lisbon; and they sent to England, where the ablest Constitutionalists were refugees, for a capable leader.

The British troops recalled from Lisbon.

These events happened in the latter half of May. Dom Miguel was seriously alarmed when the news of them reached him. Paralysed by the want of money, he was unable to take any efficacious measures for defeating the adherents of Dom Pedro. Had the Constitutionalists summoned courage to advance, it is possible that they might have seized the capital and restored the Constitution. They stood idly, however, on the banks of the Mondego waiting for the leaders whom they expected from England. Unfavourable weather delayed the passage of Saldanha and the other Portuguese who hastened to place themselves at the head of the Oporto army. Dom Miguel, gaining a little courage, declared Oporto to be in a state of blockade; and the British Government, though it did not recognise Dom Miguel, acknowledged the blockade. A force, gradually collected in

The Constitutionalists on the Mondego.

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. iv. p. 321. Palmerston, vol. i. p. 225.

Lisbon, was despatched against the Constitutionalists. The Constitutionalists, worsted in an engagement on the Mondego, fell back upon Oporto. Unable even to defend Oporto, they retreated across the Spanish frontier in the beginning of July. The Spanish Government refrained from delivering them up to Dom Miguel, and the unfortunate men proceeded to Corunna, where they embarked for England.[1]

The revolt against his usurpation subdued, Dom Miguel completed the task which he had set himself and mounted the throne. All the great Continental powers withdrew their ministers from Lisbon; and Miguel, following up his treachery with cruelty, filled the prisons of the kingdom with his opponents, hurried hundreds of them to the scaffold, and drove thousands into exile.[2] The remains of the Oporto army, arriving at Plymouth, were allowed to remain in the place in which they had landed. Miguel, though he had broken all his promises, and had no accredited envoy in London, had the assurance to remonstrate against their presence in England. Palmella, who managed the affairs of the young queen of Portugal, was advised by Brougham and Denman that a body of foreign troops could not legally be encamped on British soil, and in consequence desired to remove them to some region where their presence would be of service to Donna Maria's cause.

The small group of islands in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean which are known as the Azores belonged to Portugal. They had refused to submit to the rule of Dom Miguel, and had remained faithful to Donna Maria. Miguel, having established himself in Lisbon, decided on reducing the Azores. The Government of the Azores, alarmed at the preparations which were being made for the purpose, applied to Palmella in London for the services of the Constitutional troops which had been landed at Plymouth. On the 15th of October he announced to Wellington his intention to remove the troops to Terceira, the principal

The Portuguese at Plymouth.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1828, Hist., p. 198.
[2] Ibid., p. 202.

island in the Azores, and begged that the British Government would afford them the protection of some ships of war during their passage. Wellington replied that the British Government did not know of any Portuguese troops in England. The refugees who had landed at Plymouth were only regarded in their private capacity as individuals; and the British Government could not permit individuals, whoever they might be, to make war from England either on the Azores or on Portugal. In the following month Wellington followed up this declaration by insisting on the troops being distributed amongst the towns and villages of the three neighbouring counties. Palmella replied that he should prefer the removal of the troops to Brazil, and Wellington offered him a convoy to ensure their safety from attack during their passage. Palmella refused the convoy, on the ground that an armed escort would have the appearance of an expulsion by force, and suggested that the British Government should verbally guarantee the safety of the troops during their passage to South America. Wellington thought a verbal guarantee both useless and impracticable, and again urged the immediate departure of the soldiers.[1]

These protracted discussions occupied two months. On the 20th of December the negotiations assumed a new phase. Palmella received word that Donna Maria had been proclaimed queen in Terceira, and that the expedition which Dom Miguel had sent from Portugal had sailed away from the Azores without effecting anything. He again renewed his application for permission for the troops to go to Terceira. Wellington recapitulated his reasons for refusing the request. Arms had already, in defiance of a promise of the Brazilian ambassador, been conveyed from this country to Terceira. Civil war, according to the information of the British Government, was raging in Terceira; the Portuguese troops at Plymouth had been placed under the command of General Stubbs; and the British Government could not, therefore, permit them, either armed or unarmed, to proceed to the Azores. In accordance with this decision, Captain William

[1] *State Papers*, vol. xvi. pp. 433–443.

Walpole, who was in command of H.M.S. *Ranger*, was ordered to proceed to the Azores, to intercept any vessels arriving at those islands, and to prevent the landing of any hostile force; "and, should they persist, notwithstanding, in hovering about or in making any efforts to effect a landing, you are then to use force to drive them away from the neighbourhood."[1]

The expedition to Terceira.

Walpole arrived at Terceira on the 13th of January 1829. He found that Angra, the capital, was garrisoned by a Constitutional force; but that the armed adherents of Dom Miguel were in possession of the principal parts of the island. Cruising off the Azores, three days after his arrival, he sighted four vessels bearing down with a north wind upon Terceira. Intercepting them in accordance with his orders, he discovered that they were conveying to the Azores a Portuguese force of 652 men, under the command of Saldanha. The Portuguese vessels declined to bring to. Walpole fired a shot at them to compel them to do so. One man was killed and another wounded by the discharge; and Saldanha consented to receive a British officer on board. He still, however, persisted in continuing his voyage and in fulfilling his orders "to conduct, unarmed, to the isle of Terceira the men that are on board the four vessels in sight." "I think it unnecessary to assure you," so he wrote, "that I am determined to fulfil my duty at all peril." "I also," was Walpole's answer, "have an imperious duty to perform, and I cannot allow you to land here or on any of the Azores." Saldanha, perceiving that further resistance was hopeless, offered to consider himself Walpole's prisoner. Walpole told him that he might go either to France or England, or anywhere he chose, so he quitted the neighbourhood of the Azores. Saldanha, persisting in regarding himself as Walpole's prisoner, turned his vessels towards Europe. After eight days, Walpole, who had hitherto followed and watched him, asked him whether he was going to England. Saldanha, affecting surprise at the question, declared that he did not

[1] *State Papers*, vol. xvi. p. 458.

know. "You have used over me the discretion of a conqueror; and, at the end of all this, you ask me where I am going. I do not know, sir, where to: the only thing I know is, that I am going wherever you will lead us." Walpole, finding himself within five hundred miles of Scilly, with a strong south-west breeze, declined to give his "prisoner" the advantage of his further escort, and left him steering for the English Channel. Saldanha eventually found his way to Havre; and the British ministry, concluding that it had no right to protect the Azores from an attack from France, withdrew the blockading squadron.[1]

Indignation in Britain.

The news of these proceedings occasioned extraordinary indignation in this country. Wellington and his ministry were almost everywhere condemned. It was declared that they had proved themselves the active partisans of Dom Miguel. They had recognised the blockade of Oporto, and so had strengthened the usurper's position; they had fired into a number of unarmed Portuguese proceeding on a loyal expedition to a loyal island. It was true that, in recognising the blockade of Oporto, Wellington had only followed the usual precedent of attending to facts. It was true also that the expedition which Walpole had turned back from Terceira had notoriously sailed from a British port. The public paid no attention to these facts; they were too angry to do so. They felt that Canning, had he been alive, would have found some pretext for aiding a Constitutional queen, and some excuse for thwarting a monarch who was an autocrat, a tyrant, and an usurper. They felt that the influence of the Foreign Office was suddenly exerted on the side of autocracy; and that the rules and precedents which Canning had employed in aid of Liberalism were being skilfully used in aid of despotism. Several circumstances tended to deepen

[1] *State Papers*, vol. xvii. p. 459. Wellington *Despatches*, vol. v. p. 501. Walpole was a younger son of the Hon. Robert Walpole, and grandson of Horatio, Lord Walpole of Wolterton. He died in London in 1875. Saldanha was afterwards Portuguese minister in London. Walpole's nephew married Saldanha's stepdaughter, and was living, with his family, in Saldanha's house at the time of Saldanha's death.

the feeling of the nation. Little Donna Maria came to England; and the nation was pleased with the child's manners. She flung her arms round George IV.'s neck to thank him for his kindness to her; and George IV. was enchanted with her.[1] The *Lisbon Gazette* declared that the conduct of the British Government "had been above all praise;" and approval from such a quarter was regarded as a strong condemnation of the ministerial policy.[2] Lamb, who had been ambassador at Lisbon, made no secret of his opinion that the British Government had "behaved ill and foolishly."[3] Lamb's authority was naturally regarded as almost decisive in the matter; and the public generally condemned the policy of the Cabinet. Debates were raised in both Houses of Parliament on the foreign policy of the Government, and the Duke was severely censured by Mackintosh, Palmerston, Brougham, Lansdowne, and other speakers.[4] It is possible that, if the private letters of the Duke had been known, the condemnation would have been even stronger. "In respect to Portugal," so he had written privately to Aberdeen, "you may tell Prince Polignac that we are determined that there shall be no revolutionary movement from England on any part of the world."[5]

Polignac, to whom Wellington sent this assurance, had been French ambassador at London since the time of Chateaubriand's retirement. He was on the eve of being promoted to a higher station. During the previous years affairs in France had moved with unexpected rapidity. Chateaubriand, differing from Villèle, had been dismissed from office in 1824. Soon afterwards Louis XVIII. had died, and had been succeeded by his brother, Charles X. The new king had in the first instance been popular with all parties. The Church placed reliance on the character of the monarch; the Legitimists on the preference which he had always shown to them; and the Liberals were reassured

The accession of Charles X.

[1] Palmerston, vol. i. p. 204.
[2] Ibid., p. 303, note.
[3] Greville, vol. i. p. 137.
[4] *Hansard*, vol. xix. p. 1719; vol. xxi. pp. 1601, 1795; vol. xxii. p. 591; vol. xxiii. pp. 75, 738; vol. xxiv. p. 126.
[5] On the 1st of January 1829 (Wellington *Despatches*, vol. v. p. 409).

by the dexterous replies which he returned to their addresses. Every one, in short, was willing to hope that Charles X. had gained wisdom from experience, and that he was ready to obliterate the past on his accession to the throne. One of the first measures of his reign dispelled this illusion. The Chambers were invited to vote a large sum of money (30,000,000 francs) in reparation of the losses which the *emigrés* had sustained at the time of the Revolution. The measure was unpopular, and its unpopularity was increased by Villèle coupling it with a proposal to reduce the interest of the National Debt. The holders of Rentes were permitted to exchange the 5 per cent. Stock for either 3 per cent. at 75, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Rentes at par. The measure was very similar to that which had already been adopted with advantage in England; but its connection with the indemnity to the *emigrés* gave it a character of its own. Discontented Liberals had some grounds for saying that the interest of the Rentes was reduced, not for the purpose of saving, but for the sake of increasing the huge incomes of the old *emigrés*. The *emigrés* could speak with authority in the Chambers, but the discontent of the fundholders was repeated in every part of the country.

His first measures.

Villèle's popularity waned with the passing of the law. Towards the end of the year 1825 his unpopularity was increased by some press prosecutions. A Liberal newspaper, the *Courier Français*, was charged, among other things, with having noticed a petition from the Protestants of Nevers, which had been presented to the Chamber of Deputies; another Liberal newspaper, the *Constitutionnel*, was accused of suggesting that Lancastrian schools might be permitted to subsist by voluntary contributions. The cases were so trivial that the Court refused to convict the editors, and satisfied itself with admonishing them to be more careful in future. The victory of the Liberal journals probably increased their violence; the attacks on Royalists, clergy, and ministry were renewed, and Villèle decided on muzzling the press. A law was introduced in 1826 which forbade the printing of any journal without the name of its proprietor upon it,

Prosecutions of the press.

which allowed only five proprietors to each journal, and which imposed heavy fines on any article outraging either throne or Church. The law passed the Chamber of Deputies, but a new storm of denunciation and abuse burst on the ministers who had ventured to propose it. Peyronnet, the Minister of Justice, who had framed the law; Villèle, who had sanctioned it, were everywhere abused. Chateaubriand and Royer Collard, who had distinguished themselves by opposing it, could hardly take a walk through the streets of Paris without being mobbed by their admirers. Quailing before the storm, dreading the opposition with which the measure was threatened in the Chamber of Peers, Peyronnet was induced to withdraw the bill. The announcement was received with rapturous enthusiasm. Paris blazed with illuminations; it resounded with the explosion of fireworks. None of the victories which the French had won under the Empire had been celebrated with greater demonstrations of joy.

The Press Bill of 1826.

Villèle's ministry had suffered a great reverse. Its members were irritated by the defeat which they had sustained. Temper and discretion could alone enable them to retrieve their position, and their anger made them intemperate and indiscreet. The 12th of April was the anniversary of Charles X.'s entrance into Paris in 1825. The 12th of April in 1827, however, happened to fall on the last Thursday in Lent; and the celebration of the anniversary was, therefore, postponed till the following Monday. On that day the king received the congratulations of the National Guard, and was prevailed upon to fix a review of the Guard for Sunday, the 29th of April. Everything seemed to favour a magnificent spectacle. The National Guard comprised 20,000 or 30,000 citizens; the king had received assurances of its loyalty to his person; the obnoxious press law had been withdrawn during the previous fortnight; and the people of Paris were jubilant at their victory. The king rode down the ranks of the citizen soldiers, and was received with shouts of "Vive le Roi!" The cheers, however, as he proceeded were mingled with others of "À bas les ministres! à bas Villèle!" and the king, curtly remarking that

he had come to receive homage, not to listen to remonstrances, rode away home. On his arrival at the Tuileries he was assailed with complaints from the princesses and his ministers. The princesses complained that they had been insulted at the review by seditious cries. His ministers declared that one of the regiments, on its return home, had stopped near Villèle's residence and renewed their denunciations. On the 30th of April Charles X., surrendering to the solicitations of his Cabinet and his Court, issued a decree dissolving the National Guard.

The dissolution of the Guard increased the unpopularity of Villèle's ministry. The press continued to denounce his conduct; the peers were avowedly hostile to his Government; and a large creation of peers involved the promotion of so many of the deputies that it threatened to destroy the Ministerial majority in the Lower Chamber. Villèle had his remedy for all these things. A large creation of peers would control one Chamber; a dissolution, followed by a hasty election, might result in a fresh Ministerial majority in the other; and, as the law gave the king power to establish a censorship during the prorogation of the Legislature, the press, notwithstanding the loss of Peyronnet's measure, might be muzzled. The session was closed on the 23rd of June 1827. Two days afterwards an ordonnance was issued re-establishing the censorship. The proceedings of the censors were as arbitrary as their appointment. The *Journal de Commerce* was prosecuted for copying an article which had already appeared in the *Gazette de France* under the sanction of the censor. The *Journal de Bordeaux* was suppressed for inserting in its commercial news "Les brutes Bourbons sont en baisse"—"Raw sugars of the Isle of Bourbon are falling." The censor persisted in detecting treason in the phrase, and in construing it, "These brutes of Bourbons are coming down."

The dissolution of the National Guard.

The censorship established.

The establishment of the censorship had placed an effectual restriction on the press. But the censorship could only be continued while the Chambers were either adjourned or pro-

rogued. The dissolution of the Legislature deprived the king of this power; and a dissolution was even more necessary to Villèle than the censorship. In the course of the autumn seventy-six new peers were suddenly created. On the 5th of November the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, and new elections were ordered for the 15th. The ministry hoped that the short interval between the decree and the election would paralyse the Opposition. These hopes were soon disappointed. The press, freed from the restriction of the censorship, exerted all its influence to defeat the Government. The Ministerial candidates were beaten in Paris; the provinces, imitating the example of the capital, gave the Opposition a majority. But the defeat of the ministry was less ominous than the events with which it was accompanied. Paris, celebrating the victory by an illumination, was the scene of some disorder. The police endeavoured to disperse the mob; and the mob sheltered themselves behind carts and carriages. The police were baffled by these obstructions, and the Parisian populace immediately perceived the advantage to be derived from them. Scaffolding, hastily taken down from new buildings, was quickly converted into barricades. The barricades, as fast as they were destroyed by the police, were re-erected by the mob. The police was even repulsed from one barricade which was stouter than the rest. Carried at last, the time which it took to carry it enabled its defenders to escape down the neighbouring streets. An accidental chain of circumstances, resulting from the election, had educated the Parisians in the art of making barricades.

The creation of peers.

The barricades.

The events which thus occurred ought to have enforced a moral on Charles X. Villèle had recommended the disbandment of the National Guard, the censorship of the press, the creation of peers, the dissolution of the Lower Chamber. Every arbitrary act which the minister had demanded had been conceded by the king; and the election had made Villèle's continuance in office impossible. He resigned; and the king chose as his successor Martignac, an advocate

of Bordeaux, and a moderate politician. Martignac's Administration was appointed in the beginning of January 1828; it continued in office till August 1829. During the greater portion of this period it was exposed to no very damaging attack. The king disliked his minister's opinions, but he feared that his removal might necessitate the formation of a still more Liberal Administration. The Liberal majority had little confidence in Martignac, but they preferred him to Villèle. Martignac, in short, had succeeded in forming a ministry of compromise; and the compromise was, for some time, respected both by Royalists and Liberals. In 1829, however, the ministry, already fallen into disrepute, was weakened by the retirement of Ferronays from the Foreign Office. Ferronays was one of the most popular members of the Cabinet. His withdrawal, which was solely due to ill-health, impaired its declining authority. His retirement, moreover, led to a vacancy in the Cabinet which it became necessary to fill. It was suspected that the king desired to obtain the services of Polignac; and Polignac gave some confirmation to the report by leaving London and arriving in Paris.

Martignac.

The report of Polignac's admission to the Cabinet provoked so much dissatisfaction that the arrangement was abandoned. The public declared that Polignac was the friend of Wellington, and that the proposal for his appointment was an English intrigue. Charles X. had to confer the portfolio of the Foreign Office on Portalis, who had succeeded Peyronnet as Minister of Justice. Portalis' appointment was popular, but it was suspected that it was only provisional; and the ministers gained little, therefore, from the rejection of Polignac's claims. Their measures, in the session of 1829, seemed at first to promise them more popularity. Nothing in France was so offensive to the Liberal party as the control which the executive exercised over local government. Martignac had the courage to introduce two measures of local government reform. One of these measures regulated the internal administration of the communes; the other the councils

Polignac.

of the arrondissements and the departments. Martignac, retaining the old machinery of prefects and sub-prefects, nominated by the Crown, instituted elective councils in commune, in municipality, and in department. The committees to which the bills were referred approved their principles, but engrafted fresh provisions of a liberal character upon them. The Chamber, in defiance of the ministry, insisted on taking the departmental and more important bill before the measure for regulating communes. The ultra-royalists combined with the ultra-liberals in a division on the qualification for the franchise; the ministers narrowly escaped a defeat; and Martignac, perceiving that he had lost all control over the Chambers, withdrew his measures.

Charles X. decided to rid himself of Martignac from the moment when Martignac lost the control over the Chambers. But he abstained from making any change while the Chambers were still sitting. The session closed at the end of July, and Polignac was again sent for, and was invited to form a ministry. Polignac, however, hesitated to accept office until he had reached Paris and ascertained who would act with him; he hesitated to accept office if there were any chance of the Wellington Administration being compelled to retire. Aberdeen, with whom he placed himself in communication, relieved him from all apprehensions on one point.[1] An interview with Charles X. removed his scruples on the other. The Polignac Administration was formed. For better or for worse, Charles X. had committed the fortunes of his family to an ascetic old Royalist, whose name was odious to nine-tenths of the nation.

During the whole of the autumn of 1829 the anger of the people at Polignac's appointment was increasing in intensity. In February 1830 the *Globe* and the *National* were prosecuted for articles which reflected on the ministry. Their editors were condemned to imprisonment and to pay fines. The Chambers met soon after their condemnation. It was at once evident that the Liberals commanded an irresistible majority in the Chamber of Deputies. Using their strength

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. vi. p. 34.

on the first available opportunity, they carried in March an address to the Crown reflecting on the ministry. "An unjust distrust of the sentiments and reason of France," so the address ran, "is now the fundamental idea of the Administration. It afflicts your people, because it is insulting to them; and excites their anxiety, because it threatens their liberties." The address brought the dispute between the ministry and the people to an issue. It was obvious that Charles X. was compelled to choose betwen Polignac and the Chamber. Afraid to risk the consequences of a second dissolution, he took the middle course of proroguing the Chamber till September. Constitutional government was practically destroyed by the prorogation. The king and Polignac had made themselves absolute rulers in France.

The prorogation.

During the succeeding months Polignac endeavoured to strengthen his tottering Administration. But his applications for support met with blunt refusals in every quarter. Royalists differed from Liberals in their views of the situation; but Royalists and Liberals were agreed in having nothing to do with Polignac. An expedition to Algeria, which resulted in the acquisition of that country by France, shed a ray of lustre on the French arms; and Polignac seized the opportunity which the campaign afforded him of appealing again to the country. The decree dissolving the Chamber of Deputies was issued on the 16th of May; the elections were ordered to commence on the 23rd of June. The country spoke with a voice which was intelligible to the dullest intellect. Nearly all the members who had voted for the obnoxious address of March were returned to the new Chamber. Nearly half the members who had opposed it were rejected by the constituencies. The Opposition reckoned on 270 votes in the new Chamber. They thought that Polignac could not possibly rely on more than 158. The ministerial journals themselves admitted that the ministry was in a minority. The dissolution had only intensified the dilemma. The situation in July was ten times as critical as the situation in March. Charles X. had no alternative before him but the dismissal

of the ministry or the repudiation of the election. With the hereditary folly of his race, he issued fresh ordonnances suspending the liberty of the press, dissolving the Chambers, and summoning a new Parliament, in which the Lower Chamber was to consist only of the Deputies of departments.

The *coup d'état.*

The famous ordonnances, which drove the elder branch of the Bourbons from the throne, were signed on the 25th of July. The historian of Europe has defended the ministers who advised and the monarch who signed them. Ordonnances had previously extended the rights of election. What a royal ordonnance could do a royal ordonnance might undo; and there was, therefore, no technical reason why Charles and Polignac should not sign away, at their will, the liberties of a people. There was nothing reprehensible in the decree. But there was one thing which was reprehensible. There were only twelve cannon in Paris, and only six rounds of grape for each gun.[1] Polignac was right to advise the ordonnances; he was only wrong in neglecting all precautions for enforcing them. The argument which Alison has thus propounded is not even accurate. The ministers who advised the issue of the ordonnances were themselves satisfied that they had means for resisting any popular movement. They had no idea of the gigantic power which they had challenged to a conflict. Their ignorance, however, was not of long continuance. On the morning of Monday, the 26th of July, the streets of Paris were filled with anxious groups of agitated persons. The editors of the newspapers, who were more immediately threatened, resolved that the ordonnances were illegal, and that they would continue the publication of their papers. On the 27th the *gendarmerie*, with little inclination for the work, seized the presses of refractory journalists. The

The Revolution of July.

1 Alison does not apparently appreciate the grim character of his own argument. The king, who signed the ordonnance, was "a martyr" to duty. The minister, who neglected to provide shot and shell for the people, was only responsible. Cf. Alison, vol. iii. pp. 506, 507, with Crowe's *Reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X.*, vol. ii. p. 402, and *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, Hist., p. 183.

police only succeeded in doing so after a protracted contest. Their success added 30,000 idle persons, directly or indirectly connected with printing, to the agitated mobs which were already parading the streets of Paris. The Funds fell; the Bank refused to discount bills; the *gendarmerie* proved wholly powerless either to disperse or to control the populace, which, like a huge wave, was surging in the streets. At half-past four in the afternoon the troops were ordered to assist the police. They proved, however, as incapable as the *gendarmerie* of clearing the streets. In discharging their duty they found it necessary to fire on the people; and the long summer day closed, the populace irritated by the knowledge that blood had been shed, and encouraged by the inability of the soldiers to preserve order.

Throughout the whole of the 27th the proceedings of the mob had constituted an aggravated riot. On the morning of the 28th the riot wore the aspect of a revolution. The gunmakers were compelled to give up their arms. The tradesmen were forced to take down the royal insignia from their shops. The tricolour was unfurled. The squares and the places were occupied by armed bodies of the populace; and ministers could no longer conceal from themselves or from the public the formidable nature of the movement. Marmont, Wellington's antagonist at Salamanca, was in command of the troops. The Dauphin told him to place them under arms, as "some windows might be broken."[1] Marmont disliked the duty, but he divided such of the soldiers as he could spare into four columns and ordered them to clear the streets. Two of these columns were engaged with the populace, and suffered severely from the dropping fire with which they were assailed from house-top, window, and barricade. Many of the regiments, sympathising with the mob, refused to fire on the people; and Marmont was compelled to rely on the Guard alone. In the evening he was obliged to withdraw all his troops to the Tuileries, and to send an account of his misfortunes to the king.

[1] So Marmont himself told Greville (vol. ii. p. 36).

The king commanded him to renew the combat. The contest which, in consequence, ensued on Wednesday, the 29th, was even more unequal than that which had occurred on Tuesday, the 28th. The populace, trained to the work, plied the troops from barricade and window with stones and shot. The regiments of the line passed over to the people. The Guard, exhausted and defeated, was compelled to give way. Marmont found it necessary to fall back on St. Cloud, where the king was residing. The king, at last realising the situation,[1] recalled his ordonnances and dismissed his ministers. The concession, which ten days before might have saved his dynasty, was too late. On the 1st of August, Charles was compelled to retire to Rambouillet. On the 2nd of August he abdicated his throne in favour of his little grandson. But Henri V. was no more acceptable to the people than his grandfather. The Provisional Government, which was already organised at Paris, had decided on offering the throne to the Duke of Orleans, and on the 7th of August Louis Philippe was proclaimed King of the French.[2]

The abdication of Charles X.

These events, rapidly succeeding one another in France, naturally made a profound impression. For the first time since the conclusion of the war the arrangements which autocracy had made at Vienna and Paris had been irrevocably disturbed. An Austrian army had stamped out the revolutionary movement in Naples and Piedmont; French bayonets had restored absolute government to Madrid. But no European power was prepared to encounter the risk of an attempt to replace Charles X. on the throne of his ancestors. Autocrats might still claim to rule by the grace of God; but the example of Charles X. had proved that the

[1] So ignorant was he of the real situation, that when he was told "Tout est fini," he thought that his informant was announcing to him the victory of his troops.—Wellington *Despatches*, vol. vii. p. 153.

[2] For the preceding account, see *Ann. Reg.*, 1825, Hist., p. 134; 1827, Hist., p. 196; 1828, Hist., p. 152; 1829, Hist., p. 137; 1830, Hist., p. 166; Crowe's *Reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X.*, vol. ii. pp. 249-449. Greville, vol. ii. p. 36. Cf. Alison, vol. iii. 373–588.

continuance of their reign depended on the favour of the people. Within a few hundred miles of Paris a little state, whose soil had been the stage of many of the greatest events in history, was watching the progress of revolution in France with anxious expectation. In 1789 Belgium had imitated the example of her neighbour; and, shaking off the torpid rule of her Austrian master, had declared herself independent. But independence was impracticable in the new conditions which had arisen in Europe, and Belgium was gradually absorbed in the mighty state which was extending its authority to every portion of the Continent. Speaking the same language, professing the same religion, animated by the same ideas, enjoying a common literature, separated only by an artificial frontier, French and Belgians became insensibly blended with each other. Political considerations, however, prevented the consolidation of Belgium with France. The diplomatists at Vienna thought it necessary to strengthen adjacent kingdoms, and Belgium was annexed to Holland. In one sense the union was defensible. Holland enjoyed more real freedom than any other Continental monarchy, and the Belgians had a voice in the government of the united territory. But, in another sense, the union was singularly unhappy. The phlegmatic Dutch Protestant was as indisposed to unite with the light-hearted Roman Catholic Belgian as the languid waters of the Saone with the impetuous torrent of the Rhone. Different as were the rivers, they met at last; and diplomatists probably hoped that Dutch and Belgians would similarly combine. These hopes were disappointed, and the two people, incapable of union, endeavoured to find independent courses for themselves in separate channels.

Belgium.

The grounds of Belgian dislike to the union were intelligible. Belgium had a population of 3,400,000 souls; Holland of only 2,000,000 persons. Yet both countries had an equal representation in the States-General. Belgium was taxed more heavily than Holland, and the produce of taxation went chiefly into Dutch pockets. The Court, which was Dutch, resided in Holland. The public offices

The union of Holland and Belgium.

were in Holland. Four persons out of every five in the public service at home were Dutchmen. The army was almost exclusively commanded by Dutchmen. Dutch professors were appointed to educate the Belgian youths in Belgian schools, and a Dutch director was placed over the Bank of Brussels. The Court even endeavoured to change the language of the Belgian race, and to substitute Dutch for French in judicial proceedings. The Belgians were naturally irritated at the favour of the Court for Dutchmen. They marked their irritation by mustering in force in the States-General and opposing the financial arrangements. This opposition induced the Government to dismiss one or two Belgian officials who had voted against it. But the officers who were thus dismissed were regarded as martyrs in their own country. A public subscription was collected to indemnify them for the loss of their salaries. The subscription was successful. Its success suggested the possibility of extending it to other purposes. A journalist, M. de Potter, suffering imprisonment for libel, proposed that the subscribers should form themselves into a confederation to indemnify all citizens who had suffered for their patriotism, and to select the functionaries who should be charged with the duties of state. The Dutch Government, alarmed at the suggestion, prosecuted Potter and the journal in which his proposal had been made. At the end of April 1830, Potter was convicted. A little more than a month afterwards, on the 2nd of June, the States-General were dissolved; the elections were peacefully concluded; and the closest observers failed to detect any symptoms of the coming storm on the political horizon.[1]

The prosecution of M. de Potter.

But the storm which was to destroy the union was gathering in another country. The events of July were to shake Europe to the centre. "On all sides crowns were falling into the gutter,"[2] and the shock of revolution in Paris was felt perceptibly in Brussels. Nine years before the States-General had

[1] There is a good account of these events in Bulwer's *Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 1. See also *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, Hist., p. 240.

[2] Lord Dalling, in *Life of Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 2.

imposed a *mouture*, or tax upon flour. The tax had been carried by a very small majority, composed almost entirely of Dutch members.[1] On the 25th of August 1830, the lower orders in Brussels engaged in a serious riot, ostensibly directed against this tax. The offices of a newspaper, conducted in the interests of the Dutch, were attacked; the house of the Minister of Justice was set on fire; the wine and spirit shops were forced open; and the mob, maddened by liquor, proceeded to other acts of pillage. On the morning of the 26th of August the troops were called out and instructed to restore order. Various conflicts took place between the soldiers and the people; but the former gained no advantage over the rioters, and were withdrawn into the Place Royale, the central square of the town. Relieved from the interference of the military, the mob continued the work of destruction. Respectable citizens, dreading the destruction of their property, organised a guard for the preservation of order. Order was preserved; but the task of preserving it converted Brussels into an armed camp. It placed the entire control of the town in the hands of the inhabitants. Men who thus obtained a mastery over the situation could hardly be expected to resign the power which events had given to them. They had taken up their arms to repress a mob; victors over the populace, they turned them against the Government, and boldly despatched a deputation to the king urging the concession of reforms and the immediate convocation of the States-General.

The revolution in Brussels.

The king received the news of the events at Brussels with considerable alarm. Troops were at once ordered to march on the city; and on the 28th of August an army of 6000 men was encamped under its walls. The citizens, however, represented that the entrance of the troops would be a signal for the renewal of disturbance; and the officer in command in consequence agreed to remain outside the walls. The king sent the Prince of Orange to make terms with his insurgent subjects. The citizens declined to admit the Prince into the

[1] *Life of Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 16.

city unless he came without his soldiers. The Prince, unable to obtain any modification of this stipulation, was obliged to trust himself to the people alone. It was already evident that the chief town of Belgium had shaken off the control of the Dutch Government. The king, compelled to submit to the demands of the deputation, summoned the States-General for the 13th of September. But this concession only induced the Belgians to raise their demands. They had hitherto only asked for reforms: they now demanded independence, the dissolution of the union, and the independent administration of Belgium.

The States-General assembled.

The revolution, originally confined to Brussels, soon extended to other towns. Civic guards were organised in Liege, Tournay, Mons, Verviers, Bruges, and other places. Imitating the example of Brussels, they demanded the dissolution of the union between Holland and Belgium. The troops, consisting of a mixed force of Dutch and Belgians, could not be depended on; and the restoration of the royal authority was obviously impossible. On the 13th of September the States-General met. The question of separation was referred to them by the king, and the Deputies leisurely applied themselves to its consideration, in conformity with the tedious rules by which their proceedings were regulated. Long before they had completed the preliminary discussions which they thought necessary, the march of events had taken the question out of their hands. On the 19th of September fresh disturbances broke out in Brussels. The civic guard, attempting to quell the riot, was overpowered; and the rioters, elated with their success, announced their intention of attacking the troops, who were encamped outside the city walls. Prince Frederick of Orange, concluding that action was inevitable, at last made up his mind to attack the town. Dividing the forces under his command into six columns, he directed them, on the 23rd of September, against the six gates of the city. Brussels, however, had learned a lesson from Paris in the art of street-fighting. The troops found themselves continually opposed

The failure of the Dutch troops, and the dissolution of the union.

to fresh obstacles, hastily raised, but requiring severe efforts to overcome. Three of the columns succeeded, after a serious struggle, in obtaining possession of the higher parts of the city; but they were unable to accomplish any decisive victory. For four days the contest was renewed. On the 27th of September, the troops, unable to advance, were withdrawn from the positions which they had won. On the following day the Lower Chamber of the States-General decided in favour of a dissolution of the union.

The crown of Belgium was evidently dropping into the gutter; but the king decided on making one more effort to preserve it in his family. On the 4th of October he sent the Prince of Orange to Antwerp, authorising him to form a separate Administration for the southern provinces of the kingdom, and to place himself at the head of it. The Prince endeavoured to secure the success of his commission by surrounding himself with Belgian advisers, and by promising forgiveness for the past and liberty for the future. Arrangements of this character had, however, already become impossible. On the day on which the Prince reached Antwerp the Provisional Government at Brussels issued an ordonnance declaring the independence of Belgium and the immediate convocation of a National Congress.[1] Four names were appended to the decree which was thus issued. The first of the four was that of Potter, whose prosecution had been one of the earliest incidents in the revolution. The last of the four was that of Sylvain Van de Weyer, a young Belgian, whose tact, whose ability, and whose manners endeared him afterwards to a large circle of English acquaintances. On the 10th of October, the Provisional Government, following up its former ordonnance, issued a second decree, regulating the composition of the National Congress and the qualifications of the electors. On the 12th the elections were fixed for the 27th of October. On the 10th of November the Congress was opened; and on the 18th the indepen-

The independence of Belgium.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. xvii. p. 1232.

dence of the Belgian people was formally proclaimed by its authority.[1]

In the meanwhile the Prince of Orange, tarrying at Antwerp, was forced to watch the progress of events which he was powerless either to guide or to modify. The garrisons which Holland still retained in Belgian fortresses were either unable or unwilling to maintain themselves against the populace; and Antwerp, Maestricht, and Termonde alone continued to yield a doubtful obedience to their Dutch sovereign. Powerless to strike, the Prince endeavoured to negotiate, offering to ratify the separation of the kingdom, and to place himself at the head of an independent Belgium. The Provisional Government of Belgium, however, declined to recognise any authority except its own; it even refused to conclude an armistice with the Prince till the Dutch had been entirely withdrawn from the fortresses which they still held. Foiled in his negotiation, the Prince retired from Antwerp. On the 25th of October the Belgian army succeeded in compelling the Dutch garrison to evacuate the town and withdraw into the citadel. On the 4th of November the ministers of the five great Continental powers, assembled in London at the invitation of the king of Holland, declared that an armistice should immediately be concluded, and that the Dutch troops should be withdrawn from Belgium. The signature of this protocol, on the eve of the meeting of the National Congress, virtually led to the independence of the Belgian people, which the Congress immediately proclaimed.[2]

The effect of the revolution in Britain.

These events created a profound sensation in this country. On ordinary occasions Englishmen pay little or no attention to Continental politics. Intent on their own business, nine out of every ten of them are ignorant of the complications which disturb the counsels of foreign states, and indifferent to the difficulties of foreign Governments. But on certain subjects this indifference vanishes, and the nation takes a deep and almost uncontrollable interest in foreign

[1] For these decrees see *State Papers*, vol. xvii. pp. 1232–1241.
[2] See ibid., vol. xviii. pp. 728–738.

politics. The conditions which are peculiarly calculated to rouse Englishmen from their customary torpor existed in exceptional force during the period of Wellington's Administration. The country had lately witnessed the transition from the foreign policy of Castlereagh to the foreign policy of Canning. Castlereagh had been suspected of holding the Continental doctrine that people only exist for their kings: Canning had based his policy on the modern notion that kings only exist for their people. Castlereagh had riveted the chains of autocracy on the necks of the nations. Canning had broken the fetters with which the people had been bound by their rulers. Castlereagh had stood passively by while Italy had been crushed into submission. Canning had proclaimed the independence of a continent in one hemisphere, and had raised an effectual barrier to autocracy in the other. Old-fashioned diplomatists, trained in the atmosphere of the Foreign Office, had predicted the isolation and impotence of Britain as the result of the new policy which its Foreign Minister was pursuing. The king opposed it; the Tories disliked it; Continental statesmen were alarmed at it. But, notwithstanding the opposition of the king, the dislike of the Tories, and the alarm of foreign statesmen, British influence rose to an importance which it had rarely ever attained before. The Continent watched every action and weighed every word of the British minister; and struggling nationalities, hoping against hope for independence, trusted for their success to the moral support which he was everywhere extending to popular movements. A foreign policy of this character, at once so novel and so important, absorbed the attention of the entire nation. Canning had instilled into it the same interest in the struggle against autocracy which Wilberforce had created thirty years before by his crusade for the slaves.

The foreign policy of Canning,

Politicians were taking an exceptional interest in foreign politics when Canning died. His death did not ostensibly modify the policy of the Foreign Office. Wellington, Dudley, and Aberdeen all professed to adhere to the treaty of July. Wellington had been a member of the

and of Wellington.

Cabinet which had despatched the troops to Portugal. But, from the formation of his ministry, the public felt that the Government was insensibly drifting into a policy which Canning, had he lived, would have avoided. Canning, at the head of a united Europe, had taken a bold and unprecedented step to prevent the subjugation of Greece. Wellington, holding himself more and more apart from the allies, was evidently desirous of breaking the fall of Turkey, and giving as little as possible to the Greeks. Both ministers professed the same principles and appealed to the same treaty. Both of them accepted it as the basis of their policy. But there was as much difference between their methods of dealing with it as there is between an English and a Dutch auction. The auctioneer names the minimum price which he is authorised to accept for the goods he offers; the itinerant salesman places a value upon them which he never dreams of obtaining. At the genuine sale the price is gradually raised by the competition of buyers; at the Dutch auction the price is gradually reduced till it reaches a level which attracts a purchaser. Canning, like the auctioneer, was continually obtaining better terms for the Greeks; Wellington, like the salesman, was constantly reducing the terms which had been proposed for them. Both ministers started with the same terms, just as auctioneer and salesman may both name the same upset price. But Canning was always endeavouring to obtain as much as possible for the Greeks; Wellington was always striving to save as much as possible for the Turks.

Wellington's sympathy for the Turks annoyed the Liberals; the failure of his policy annoyed the Tories. Both parties, therefore, regarded with little satisfaction the course of events in Eastern Europe. The simultaneous usurpation of Dom Miguel in Portugal increased Wellington's embarrassments. Wellington ostensibly applied to Portugal the principles which had guided Canning's administration of the Foreign Office. His apologists compared his recognition of Dom Miguel's blockade of Oporto with Canning's recognition of the Greek blockade of the

The unpopularity of Wellington's policy.

Morea. They justified the forcible stoppage of the expedition to Terceira by Canning's advocacy of the Foreign Enlistment Act. In a technical sense Wellington's defence was complete. But Liberal politicians felt that, while the moral influence of Britain, under Canning, would have been exerted in favour of Donna Maria, the moral influence of England, under Wellington, had been afforded to Dom Miguel. During the whole of 1828 and 1829, then, the attention of the nation was mainly directed to the affairs of Portugal and the affairs of Greece, and it was felt that the British policy towards both countries was being silently but effectually modified. In 1830 the follies of Charles X. and his advisers attracted every one's attention to the affairs of France. The Polignac Administration was formed; and, both in France and in this country, Polignac was associated with Wellington. The French persisted in saying that Polignac would never have formed a Government if he had not received an assurance of Wellington's support; and that he would never have persevered in the course which brought ruin upon his sovereign and himself if he had not received Wellington's encouragement. Everything which Wellington attempted to do in England was compared with what Polignac was doing in France. The most harmless acts of the British minister seemed injurious when they were interpreted by the light of Polignac's proceedings.

His policy compared with that of Polignac's.

In one sense it was undoubtedly an injustice to Wellington to identify him with Polignac. He himself declared that "he had never written to Prince Polignac in his life, and that he had never written to Charles X. except when that monarch lost his son, and when his grandson was born, till he came to this country. In fact, he had never corresponded with any French minister without the knowledge of his colleagues. He had no more knowledge of Prince Polignac's proceedings than" Lord Brougham, "or, most probably, still less."[1] This contradiction, coming from such a man as Wellington, makes it certain that he had no communication with Polignac, and that he

[1] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. iii. p. 1071.

afforded him no encouragement. But it is unfortunately equally certain that Polignac, though he received no direct encouragement from Wellington, regarded Wellington's continuance in office as the best guarantee for his own ministry. The Duke's "being at the head of the Government in this country would be the greatest inducement for him to accept office in his own."[1] The suspicions, therefore, both of French and British, were partly justified. There could be no doubt that Polignac identified himself with Wellington, and depended, for the permanence of his rule, on the continuance of the Duke's Administration in power.

The Conservatives of Europe were, in fact, rallying round Wellington. The great labour of the Duke's life had resulted in the restoration of the Bourbons to France and the annexation of Belgium to Holland; and it was inevitable that he should dislike a revolution which was driving Charles X. from his throne and separating the Dutch and Belgians for ever. His not unnatural desire to preserve inviolate a state of things which he had been instrumental in establishing was regarded by advanced Liberals as an "odious, insulting, aide-de-campish, incapable dictatorship."[2] It was thought impossible that any cordiality could exist between Aberdeen, on the one side, and the Liberal Government of France, on the other;[3] and the only possible method of remaining on good terms with France seemed to lie in the formation of a Liberal Administration. The Tories, indeed, had never set any especial value on the French alliance, but the Liberals conceived that the days of July had given the French fresh claims for their support. "What glorious beings the French are!" wrote Lord Durham to Lord Brougham.[4] The enthusiasm which the "glorious beings" had aroused in calmer minds than Lord Durham's imparted an unexpected impulse to Liberal principles, and increased the voting power of the Liberal party in British constituencies.

The effects of the French Revolution.

1 Wellington *Despatches*, vol. vi. p. 35.
2 Lord Durham to Brougham (*Brougham*, vol. iii. p. 44).
3 Ibid., p. 44.
4 Ibid., p. 45.

The danger to the ministry which thus existed was aggravated by the death of George IV. Parliament was dissolved; and, by a singular accident, the general election which ensued commenced in the week which was memorable for the Revolution of July. The interest which attached to home politics was lost in the intense excitement which the events at Paris produced. Those "glorious beings," the French, had succeeded in ridding themselves of Polignac. British Liberals hoped that it might be equally possible to rid themselves of the politician whom they persisted in regarding as Polignac's representative at home. The large English constituencies especially selected in rapid succession Liberal candidates. Sir W. Ffolkes, a Liberal, was elected for Norfolk; Lord Ebrington, an advanced Liberal, for Devonshire. Denman was returned for Nottingham; Hume for Middlesex; and Brougham, who did not own an acre in the county, was elected, without expense to himself, and amidst wild enthusiasm, for Yorkshire. But the successes of the Liberals were even less remarkable than the losses of the ministers. One of Peel's brothers was beaten at Norwich; another at Newcastle-under-Lyme. His brother-in-law, George Dawson, was unable to obtain a seat in Ireland, and forced to take refuge in an English borough. Croker, venturing on appealing to the graduates of Dublin, was beaten by Lefroy. There could be no doubt that the stability of the ministry was violently shaken by the events of the election.[1]

The death of George IV. and the election of 1830.

The Tory party, indeed, still enjoyed a nominal majority in the new Parliament. But the Tory party no longer supported the Wellington Administration. "The ultra-Tories had never forgiven Wellington and Peel" for emancipating the Roman Catholics; and Tory magnates like the Dukes of Richmond and Newcastle, Tory county members like Sir Edward Knatchbull, who sat for Kent, or Sir Richard Vyvyan, who sat for Cornwall, and Tory lawyers like Sir Charles Wetherell, were more anxious than the Whigs

The discontent of the Tories.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, pp. 145, 146. Brougham, vol. iii. p. 38.

themselves to oust the ministry.[1] Peel especially was hated with a hatred which almost exceeds belief.[2] It was evident to the dullest intellect that the schism which was splitting up the Tory party was affording the Opposition an unprecedented opportunity. Revolution abroad and distress at home were, at the same time, reviving the demand for Parliamentary reform.

The demand for Parliamentary reform was simultaneously fortified by a circumstance of another character. In the beginning of 1830 a few persons met together in Birmingham to endeavour to obtain a repeal of the Act of 1819 which had established cash payments. The men who thus assembled were not exclusively Reformers; but the Reformers soon observed the immense advantage which their cause would derive from the deliberations of an organised body. The little meetings, summoned to denounce a metallic currency, were soon converted into great assemblies whose sole object was the promotion of Parliamentary reform. The voluntary association of a few gentlemen of the Midland counties was developed into the Birmingham Political Union.[3] So rapid was the organisation of the Union, that, in the beginning of February 1830, Huskisson stated in the House of Commons that he had seen lately in Birmingham "an association which, as far as he could perceive its elements, principles, and operations, seemed exactly formed on the model of the Catholic Association; for it had its subscriptions, its funds, its meetings, its discussions, and its great agitator." The purpose of this association was to raise a universal cry for Parliamentary reform—to carry the question by exaggerating the difficulties, abuses, and distresses of the country.[4] The "agitator" whom Huskisson saw at the head of this formidable body was Thomas Attwood, a gentleman of ability, who afterwards had the honour of becoming the first member for Birmingham. Attwood had considerable qualifications for the position. He was capable of collecting large

The Birmingham Political Union.

[1] Brougham, vol. iii. p. 49.
[2] Ibid., p. 11.
[3] Le Marchant's *Spencer*, p. 251.
[4] *Hansard*, vol. xxii. p. 347.

masses of his fellow-countrymen together, and of preserving them, when they were gathered in obedience to him, from committing any disorders. In February 1830, however, few people foresaw the strength and organisation which the Birmingham Political Union was about to attain. Huskisson's warning fell on ears that refused to hear; and the House lightly rejected a moderate proposal of Reform which was made by Russell, and steadily declined to transfer the representation of East Retford to the great town of Birmingham.[1]

The distress of the lower orders.

An agitation, however, was gradually arising which even Tory members could not ignore. In 1816 the distress which had resulted from low wages and dear corn had produced the discontent which resulted in the Spa Fields riots, the march of the Blanketeers, and the rising of the Nottinghamshire Captain. In 1819 high prices and low wages had again been the chief causes of the disorders which culminated in the Manchester massacre. In 1822 and 1823 the distress of the agricultural classes had, for a third time, led to a general desire for change. The agitation on each of these occasions had ceased with the return of better times; and the demand for Reform had, in consequence, seemed to depend on the state of the crops or the condition of the money market. The effects of the financial crisis of 1825–26 were unusually permanent. The failure of capitalists in every kind of business naturally involved the loss of large quantities of capital; and the fund out of which the labouring classes were supported was in this way reduced. Working men, who had been enjoying a short period of unexpected prosperity, suddenly found themselves worse off than ever. Pauperism increased with a rapidity which had never previously been known; one person in every six in England and Wales was in receipt of relief; and the ratepayers were crushed with the task of sustaining their destitute fellow-subjects.

A variety of circumstances pointed to the possibility of dis-

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxii. pp. 859, 915.

turbance. The lower orders were experiencing unusual distress. Political unions were being successfully organised by capable agitators. Parliamentary reform was the avowed object of the new organisations; and the ruling classes were stubbornly refusing to remedy even the more glaring abuses in the constitution of the House of Commons. The ruling classes, moreover, who still stood at bay against a nation, were themselves losing the cohesion which had hitherto supported them. The garrison of the citadel had mutinied against its commander, and a continually increasing faction of his troops was desirous of displacing him from his command. The example of the French infused fresh spirit into politicians who were prepared for a great constitutional struggle; and the circumstances which made a general election necessary at the time at which the crown of Charles X. was tumbling off his feeble head gave the Liberals an opportunity of availing themselves of the unusual excitement in the country. In great constituencies like Yorkshire and Middlesex the people found a vent for their enthusiasm in cheering the popular candidates and in hooting unpopular county magnates. In large towns like Birmingham they found a new occupation in attending the meetings of the Political Union. Agricultural labourers, however, in remote country parishes had neither the excitement of contested elections nor the enthusiasm of popular meetings to fall back upon. The sole object of their humble life was to raise the rate of wages by a few pence a week; the chief article of their simple faith was a belief in the injury that machinery was doing to them. An ignorant labourer, forbidden by the harsh law of settlement to leave his parish, might naturally object to the use of a machine which enabled one man to do the work of three. Farmers who had the audacity to use thrashing-machines seemed responsible for the destitution which surrounded them; and starving men, stung into action by the misery of their families, revenged themselves by burning the ricks of obnoxious farmers. Isolated acts of this character soon led to organised riot. Bodies of men leagued together to destroy the property of

Its consequences.

Agricultural riots.

those agriculturists who used machinery. Threatening letters, demanding higher wages and the disuse of machines, were despatched to the employers of labour; threatening notices, signed "Swing," were affixed to gates or barns. The rioters proved their capacity to act. Night after night the darkness was illuminated by the glare of burning ricks and buildings. The rioters, gaining boldness from impunity, followed up the work of destruction by night with acts of pillage in the day; and the Southern counties of England became the constant scene of acts of incendiarism and violence, carried on with an impunity and boldness which had no recent parallel in English history.[1]

The upper classes were seriously alarmed at these disturbances; but their alarm did not induce them to reconcile themselves with the Duke. The Tories exhibited a distrust of their leaders which made the position of the ministry difficult, and even pitiable. For more than a year Wellington had been doubtful of the propriety of remaining in a position which had become intolerable to himself, and which was evidently distasteful to the country.[2] The events of the session of 1830 had made his situation increasingly irksome to him; the result of the general election had rendered it more and more insecure. "The utter weakness of our ministry," wrote Brougham to the Duc de Broglie, "you can hardly form an adequate idea of. In Parliament they have no power; no debaters who can be heard; no certainty of carrying a question; and in the country all parties are against them."[3] It was obvious that the Government required

The Duke's efforts to strengthen the ministry.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, Hist., p. 130.

[2] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. vi. p. 294. When writing to Sir William Knighton, on the 10th of November 1829, he said: "If I had known in January 1828 one tithe of what I do now, and of what I discovered in one month after I was in office, I should never have been the king's minister, and should have avoided loads of misery! However, I trust that God Almighty will soon determine that I have been sufficiently punished for my sins, and will relieve me from the unhappy lot which has befallen me. I believe there never was a man suffered so much, and for so little purpose." In June 1830 he formally proposed that he should retire.—*Despatches*, vol. vii. p. 108.

[3] Ibid., p. 174.

additional strength; and Wellington was at least as alive to the necessity for new men as the rest of the public. There was a small knot of politicians of considerable ability who, he thought, might possibly be persuaded to join his ministry. Huskisson and his three friends had seceded from the Government in consequence of an important difference on a minor question. Could not they be induced—or could not some of them be induced—to forget their previous differences and reunite with their old friends? William Lamb, who had retired from the Irish Secretaryship in 1828, had since his resignation succeeded to his father's title. In July 1830 the Duke made an overture to him for assistance. Lord Melbourne's answer was discouraging. He could not consent to come without Huskisson and Grey. The Duke was not prepared to concede such terms as these, and the overture dropped through.[1]

Melbourne had refused to join the Government; but two months afterwards the negotiation was renewed under other circumstances. In September the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was formally opened, and the ceremony, which will be more properly described in another chapter, was unfortunately memorable for an unhappy accident in which Huskisson lost his life. His death removed one of the difficulties which prevented the junction of Wellington with the seceders of 1828. A few days after it occurred, Wellington sent a common friend to Palmerston, proposing his return to the Cabinet. In many respects such a proposition seemed likely to receive favourable consideration. Palmerston, throughout his political career, had been closely connected with Wellington and Peel; and he was, therefore, disposed to rejoin the friends with whom he had been connected for twenty years. Yet Palmerston's answer was the same as Melbourne's. He could not come alone; and the friends, without whom he could not come, were Melbourne, Grant, Lansdowne, and Grey. The Duke offered to accept Melbourne and Grant; he declined to receive Lansdowne and Grey; and the negotiation terminated.

[1] Bulwer's *Palmerston*, vol. i. p. 382. Mr. Torrens has no original information about the overture.

The Duke, however, did not despair of obtaining Palmerston's co-operation, and in the latter end of October again renewed his overtures to him for assistance. Croker, who was charged with the negotiation, brought it to an abrupt conclusion by asking Palmerston his views on the reform of Parliament. Palmerston expressed his determination to vote for Reform, and with this expression the two friends separated—politically speaking—for ever.[1]

The crisis had arrived. Crowns were tumbling into the gutter on the Continent. Incendiaries were firing stacks and farmsteads at home. The larger constituencies had declared against the Government. The Tory representatives of rotten boroughs were in open mutiny against the Duke. The country was loudly demanding Reform. The Opposition, meeting at Althorp's chambers in the Albany, was deciding to endorse the demand.[2] On the 26th of October the new Parliament met. On the 2nd of November it was formally opened by the king. The king, who spoke of the Belgians as revolted subjects, had to deplore revolution abroad and disturbance at home. The one he had witnessed "with deep regret," the other he was determined to punish and suppress by all the means in his power.[3]

Parliament meets.

The speech had not the effect of diminishing the prevalent anxiety. The deep regret with which the king had noticed the revolution in Belgium might, it was feared, lead to the armed intervention of England. The Funds fell three per cent. in consequence. Grey in one House openly deplored the language of the speech which described the Belgians as revolted subjects; and O'Connell, in the other, blessed the huge debt which incapacitated "the British Government from interposing to crush the growing spirit of human freedom." "You see," said Grey, "the danger around you: the storm is in the horizon, but the hurricane approaches. Begin, then, at once to strengthen your houses, to secure your

The Duke's declaration against Reform.

[1] Wellington *Despatches*, vol. vii. pp. 281, 328. Palmerston, vol. i. p. 383.
[2] Brougham, vol. iii. p. 48.
[3] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. i. pp. 9, 11.

windows, and to make fast your doors. The mode in which this must be done, my lords, is by securing the affections of your fellow-subjects, and—I will pronounce the word—by reforming Parliament." Such a declaration, coming from such a quarter, could not be left unnoticed. Wellington rose to reply to Grey, and at the conclusion of his speech referred to his opponent's desire for Reform. He was totally opposed to all motions of this character. "He had never read or heard of any measure up to the present moment which could in any degree satisfy his mind that the state of the representation could be improved, or be rendered more satisfactory than at the present moment." "He would go still further and say, that, if at the present moment he had imposed upon him the duty of forming a legislature for any country, and particularly for a country like this, in possession of great property of various descriptions, he did not mean to assert that he could form such a legislature as they possessed now, for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such excellence at once; but his great endeavour would be to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results."[1] The respectable assembly which the Duke was addressing was composed of men warmly interested in the system which the Prime Minister had so unnecessarily defended; and who did not, as individuals, possess one tithe of the judgment and sense which were the distinguishing characteristics of the Duke. But even Tory peers, owners of rotten boroughs, were amazed at the opinion which their leader had advanced. The Duke sat down; but the buzz of criticism around him was so loud that, whispering to a colleague, he asked the cause of it. "You have announced the fall of your Government, that is all," was his colleague's answer.[2]

[1] The quotations in this paragraph are from *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. i. pp. 42, 100, 37, 52. Wellington, eight months afterwards, threw some doubt on the correctness of the report of his speech (*Despatches*, vol. vii. p. 460); but he admitted the substance of it.

[2] Lord Russell's *Recollections*, p. 62. The colleague was probably Lord Lyndhurst. Cf. Greville, vol. ii. p. 53. Mr. Gladstone, however, says that it was Lord Aberdeen (*Edinburgh Review*, No. 324, p. 577).

The consequences of the Duke's declaration were soon evident. In the City, on the following morning, the Funds, which had already fallen to 84, fell to 80. In the House of Commons, on the following evening, member after member rose to protest against the Duke's language. "The Dictator of the Government," said one, "had declared that the people did not want Reform, and should not have it. In the name of the people, he replied, that they did want Reform, and that they would have it." Another member warned the ministry that "it would not long depend on the behest of the Duke of Wellington whether Reform were granted or not." The Prime Minister, said a third, had said that "there shall be no Reform. How could his Majesty expect a tranquil reign under such circumstances?"[1] The temper of the House was so evident, that Murray, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, ventured on throwing over his chief, and on expressing himself favourable to a moderate measure of Reform.[2] The Duke's declaration did not even conciliate discontented Tories. If, said Winchilsea, the Duke had fished for "the support of the high-minded noblemen with whom he was usually united," he could assure his Grace that "he might as well attempt to take high heaven by storm."[3]

Effect of the Duke's declaration.

A single indiscreet speech had increased the embarrassments of the Government. Members, who had been ready enough to support the ministry on the 2nd of November, had made up their minds to oppose it on the 4th.[4] The proceedings of the 5th were equally unfortunate to ministers. Hume pressed them to pledge themselves to a reduction of taxation; and Peel, declaring the question to be improper, declined to give it any answer whatever.[5] Peel's decision may have been technically justifiable, but it heaped fuel on the flame. Warm language, warmly resented, was used on both sides of the House; and the members separated,

[1] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. i. pp. 145, 146, 148. Subsequent references to *Hansard*, except when expressly stated to the contrary, imply the Third Series.
[2] Ibid., p. 167.
[3] Ibid., p. 198.
[4] See Mr. Wood's speech, ibid., p. 213.
[5] Ibid., p. 220.

heated with what had passed, and full of anxiety for the future.

The first week of the session had produced a crisis; but a much more serious embarrassment was in prospect. From time immemorial the 9th of November has been celebrated in the City of London with antiquated observances and princely festivities. On that day some respectable citizen is appointed to a position, eminent for its privileges and its reminiscences, and celebrates his promotion by a banquet, to which all the greatest people in the country think it an honour to be invited. In 1830 the Lord Mayor-elect had persuaded the king and queen to distinguish their accession to the throne by coming to his dinner. The City assumed its gayest aspect in anticipation of the royal visit. But the preparations for the banquet were suddenly disturbed by disquieting rumours. It was reported that the Reformers, irritated into action by the Prime Minister's declaration in the House of Lords, intended to make an attack upon him on his road to the City. A Radical residing in the City gave the information, in the first instance, to Peel.[1] The Lord Mayor-elect communicated it on Saturday, the 7th of November, to Wellington, officiously suggesting that the Duke should come strongly and sufficiently guarded. Ministers, already alarmed at the disturbances in the country, and at the denunciations with which they were themselves everywhere assailed, met in haste to consider these communications.

The City banquet on the 9th of November.

It happened that the unpopularity of the ministers was largely increased by a circumstance for which the present generation owes them a debt of considerable gratitude. The noble manner in which Peel had adopted Mackintosh's proposal for the reform of the Criminal Code has already been related in a previous chapter of this history. But Peel was a statesman who had an inherent dislike to half-measures. His reform of the Criminal Code—broad and efficient as it had proved—was in many respects incomplete; and he

[1] Spencer, p. 255, note.

desired to supplement it by simplifying and amending the whole system of criminal jurisprudence. The minister, however, in his desire to make the Criminal Code more humane, always found himself face to face with one difficulty. The police was notoriously inefficient; and, till some force could be constituted which was capable of coping with the criminal class, innocent citizens could not be deprived of the security which they were supposed to derive from cruel punishments, and could not be forbidden to protect themselves by setting spring-guns and steel-traps in their gardens, fields, or coverts. Public opinion, however, gradually revolted against the notion that a man might protect either his game or his garden by a deadly instrument. An unfortunate accident, by which a wholly innocent person met with a lingering and horrible death in 1824, increased the popular feeling against the practice;[1] and, in 1825, a Norfolk nobleman, Lord Suffield, introduced a bill declaring spring-guns illegal. The bill did not become law; and Suffield, discouraged by his defeat, abstained from pressing it in 1826. Early in 1827, however, a man named Guthrie was killed in Scotland by a spring-gun, as dozens of Englishmen had been killed before him. The English judges had always been in the habit of absolving the persons who had set the gun. In Scotland, Lord Home's keeper was indicted for murder for setting it. The prisoner's counsel objected to the relevancy of the charge, and insisted on raising the general question whether a spring-gun might be lawfully set. The High Court of Justiciary unanimously decided that a spring-gun was an illegal engine. Before even the decision had been given, Parliament had adopted Suffield's measure. Poor Guthrie's death, and the firm attitude of the Scotch judges, had been instrumental in preventing a horrible and barbarous practice.[2]

Peel was out of office when Suffield's bill became law. On

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1824, Chron., p. 153.

[2] The case will be found in *Ann. Reg.*, 1827, Chron., p. 116; the debate on Lord Suffield's bill, in *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xii. pp. 641, 1014; vol. xiii. p. 1260; and vol. xvii. p. 295. The Act was 7 & 8 Geo. IV., c. 18.

his return to power in 1828, his attention was at once directed to the state of crime in the metropolis. If people were prevented from protecting their own property by the use of murderous instruments, it became the obvious duty of the State to protect it for them. Early in 1828 Peel obtained a select committee to inquire into the state of the police of the metropolis and the adjoining districts.[1] The committee which was thus appointed agreed upon a report, to which some reference has already been made in this work; and, in accordance with this report, Peel, in 1829, introduced a measure for establishing a police force.[2] The bill became law; and the admirable force, which has ever since been charged with the duty of maintaining order in London, was instituted. The lower orders, however, who had been long accustomed to disturbances, and the criminal classes, who had directly profited from the old system which the new police had superseded, were irritated at the institution of a force which was both respectable and efficient. This irritation found expression in nicknames which are apparently likely to be engrafted permanently into our language. The street Arab, who hated the new police and the minister for instituting it, gave the constable the name of the statesman, and derisively called him a "Peeler." The urchin—half-outcast, half-criminal—who was at once frightened and amused by the dignified bearing of the new officer, called him a "Bobby." Sir Robert Peel's Christian name and surname had thus both been employed to supply nicknames to the new force.

The institution of the Police Force.

The unpopularity of the new force made the ministers attach exceptional importance to the warning which the Lord Mayor-elect had given them. For themselves they had few apprehensions, but they feared that the king's visit to the City might be seized as an opportunity for an attack upon the new police.[3] Wellington thought that the

The royal visit to the City postponed.

[1] *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xviii. p. 798.

[2] Ibid., New Series, vol. xxi. p. 868.

[3] The anonymous placards and handbills circulated at the time were very alarming. One of them ran, "To arms! to arms! Liberty or death! London meets on Tuesday next, an opportunity not to be lost for revenging the wrongs

good which might result from the king's visit was not worth the risk of a possible disturbance; and the Cabinet, in consequence, decided that the king and queen should not go to the dinner. The decision was nearly creating the disturbance which it was intended to prevent. It was everywhere believed that the ministry was apprehensive of immediate rebellion; and men purchased arms and strengthened the fastenings of their houses, in the expectation that the scenes which had deluged Paris and Brussels with blood would be acted in London. The excitement was, perhaps, the greater from the ministry's decision being announced on a Saturday. The people had nothing to do on the Sunday, and had, therefore, full leisure to meet and discuss the alarming news. Fear is more contagious than fever; in a state of panic the timid are the leaders; and throughout the Sunday vague apprehensions, which no one attempted to define, spread with alarming rapidity. The Funds had already fallen four per cent.; on the Monday they dropped an additional three per cent. The streets in the morning were thronged with people anxiously speculating on the immediate future. Both Houses of Parliament were crowded in the evening with members, angrily condemning the conduct of the ministers. Waithman, an alderman of London, and one of the members for the City, increased the general feeling against the Government by declaring that the Court of Aldermen had felt no apprehensions of a riot, and that they had not known of the letter of the Lord Mayor-elect to Wellington. The ministers, Waithman declared, had acted with such precipitation that they had not waited to test the authenticity of their information. Twenty-four hours after they had formally postponed the dinner they

we have suffered so long. Come armed, be firm, and victory must be ours." Another ran, "Liberty or death! Englishmen! Britons!! and honest men!!! The time has at length arrived—all London meets on Tuesday. Come armed. We assure you from ocular demonstration that 6000 cutlasses have been removed from the Tower for the use of Peel's bloody gang. Remember the cursed speech from the throne!! These damned police are now to be armed. Englishmen, will you put up with this?"—*Hansard*, vol. i. p. 271. See, for the correspondence between the Lord Mayor-elect and Peel, *Ann. Reg*, 1830, Chron., p. 185.

had actually sent into the City to inquire whether the letter on which they had acted was genuine or not.[1] The postponement of the dinner was declared by Wellesley "the boldest act of cowardice he had ever heard of."[2]

In the meanwhile the short autumn day was drawing to a close. Those who thought that their houses might be the object of popular attack were taking steps to place them in defence. The police were drawn up, at specified stations, in military order; troops were moved up to London; and large numbers of special constables were sworn in to assist the police. Happily, however, these precautions proved unnecessary. Some slight disturbances occurred in various parts of the town. In one or two instances the mob and the police came into collision. But, on the whole, the night passed away peacefully. The vast crowds with which the streets were thronged were orderly and good-humoured; and the populace had so little fear of riot that women and children mingled freely with the mob and criticised the devices with which some of the houses were decorated. The anonymous placards which had frightened the ministry into their bold "act of cowardice" had fortunately failed to stimulate the populace into action.[3]

The town had been spared the calamity of a riot. But the reputation of the ministry had been hopelessly damaged. It was everywhere felt that the king and queen might have gone to the City banquet without serious risk of disturbance, and that their visit had been postponed because ministers had feared the consequences of their own presence in the procession. Many even of his political opponents deplored the unreasoning and unreasonable hostility with which Wellington was everywhere assailed.[4] But friends and opponents were both agreed that the statesman who was the object of such indiscriminate abuse was disqualified for

Hostility against ministers.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. i. p. 282. [2] Greville, vol. ii. p. 57.

[3] The disturbances which did take place are related in *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, Chron., p. 190. They were very unimportant. Cf. *Hansard*, vol. i. p. 351; and Greville, vol. ii. p. 55.

[4] See especially Denman's speech (*Hansard*, vol. i. p. 294).

conducting the affairs of the country. Brougham had given notice of a motion for Reform on Tuesday, the 16th of November. The ministry believed itself capable of defeating it. But it had not much confidence in the possibility of rejecting it by a large majority. A narrow division, however, would obviously encourage the Reformers to fresh attacks; and those who were best acquainted with Wellington believed that if the majority were small he would retire from office.[1] Every one, therefore, awaited with anxiety and impatience the result of Brougham's motion. The great battle of Reform would apparently decide the fate of the ministry, and would possibly determine the future of the nation. Both sides marshalled their supporters, like the combatants at a tournament, and prepared for the affray. One of the combatants at these mediæval combats must occasionally have fallen, before the supreme moment of conflict arrived, from his horse stepping on unsound soil or slippery ground. In similar fashion, while the nation was awaiting the division on Reform, the Wellington Administration fell before an obstacle which no one had noticed, and the great contest, which every one had been expecting, was reserved for another occasion.

The Civil List.

The accession of a new king to the throne necessitated, of course, the revision of the Civil List. George IV. had been granted a Civil List of £850,000. It was proposed that William IV. should receive a Civil List of £970,000, and that he should be relieved from some of the anomalous charges which his predecessors had defrayed.[2] The arrangement contemplated a trifling saving; but, in the opinion of the Opposition, the saving was much too small. Sir Henry Parnell had sat for many years as member for

[1] Greville, vol. ii. p. 60.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. i. p. 434. *Return of Public Inc. and Exp.*, Session 1869, part ii. p. 605. There is a remarkable memorandum in Wellington *Despatches*, vol. vii. p. 130, signed "George R."—apparently a misprint for William R.—which indicates that William IV., at the commencement of his reign, was willing to strike all anomalous charges off the Civil List, and to reduce it to its present condition.

Queen's County: he enjoyed a considerable reputation as a professed economist. His works on financial reform and on banking may still be studied with advantage. He had filled the position of chairman of the Finance Committee of 1828. He at once expressed his dissatisfaction with the new Civil List, and suggested that its details should be referred to a select committee. A short discussion ensued, in which many of the charges on the Civil List were severely criticised, and in which the ministry was accused of a breach of faith. In his speech from the throne at the commencement of the session the king had declared that he had placed his interest in the hereditary revenues unreservedly at the disposal of the House of Commons. The announcement at the time had produced general satisfaction; but the plan of the ministry showed that the king had not parted with the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster or the Duchy of Cornwall, the only hereditary revenues of importance. It was in vain that Peel took pains to explain that the revenues of the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall did not form a part of the hereditary revenues of the Crown. The defence was technically complete; but the House was in no humour for technical arguments. The discussion was adjourned till Monday, the 15th of November, the members going home dissatisfied both with the king and with the Ministry.[1]

On the Monday the discussion was renewed. Parnell formally proposed his motion for referring the Civil List to a select committee. The Chancellor of the Exchequer met it with a decided negative. The House, which was impatient for a division, only waited for one or two speeches. At an early hour the question was put. Many of the Duke's supporters were absent from the division. Advanced Tories like Knatchbull and Vyvyan voted against him. His own nephew, Long Pole Wellesley, supported Parnell. Palmerston and Wynn threw the weight of their influence into the scale against the Ministry. These various defections made the result of the division certain. Parnell's motion was carried

The ministry is defeated, and resigns.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. i. pp. 429–471.

by 233 votes to 204. The Duke, finding it impossible to command the support of the Tories, and impracticable to carry on the Government without their assistance, tendered his resignation to the king; and the king sent for Grey and authorised him to form a ministry.

Lord Grey.

Grey had arrived at the period of life at which men begin to seek for a little leisure. He was sixty-six years old. Forty-four years had passed since his entrance into the House of Commons. Thirty-seven years had passed since his memorable motion on Reform. For nearly twenty-four years he had been condemned to enforced idleness as the leader of a weak and disjointed Opposition. During the whole of his long career he had only had one opportunity of acquiring experience in office. In 1830 he would gladly have yielded place and power to a younger and a stronger man. Althorp, however, whom Grey wished to nominate for the first place in the ministry, was with difficulty persuaded to take the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and the lead of the House of Commons. He positively refused either to accept office or to assume the lead unless Grey was placed at the head of the Government; and Grey found himself, in consequence, compelled to accept the position of Prime Minister.

Lord Grey forms a ministry.

The Cabinet was formed with unusual ease. Lord Lansdowne and Lord Holland, who twenty years before had been Grey's colleagues in the Talents Administration, became President of the Council and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Lord Carlisle accepted a seat in the Cabinet without office. The Duke of Richmond was rewarded for deserting the Tories with the Post Office. His appointment was suggested by the desire of the new minister to found his ministry on the widest possible basis. With the same view Goderich was appointed to the Colonial Office; and Canning's other followers were all selected for responsible situations—Palmerston at the Foreign Office, Melbourne at the Home Office, Charles Grant at the Board of Control. Graham, the vigorous advocate of retrenchment, was placed at the Admiralty; and Grey's son-in-law, Durham,

who had been identified with Radical Reform since his motion in 1821, accepted the office of Privy Seal.[1] The same desire was manifested to secure the maximum of support in the disposition of the places outside the Cabinet. The Grenvillites were propitiated by the appointment of Charles Wynn to the Secretaryship-at-War. Wellington's own brother, Lord Wellesley, became Lord Steward. Lord John Russell was appointed to the Paymastership of the Forces; and a still younger man, Edward Stanley, a grandson of the Earl of Derby, was made Chief Secretary for Ireland. Stanley was thirty-one years old. He had originally been brought into Parliament for the small borough of Stockbridge, and the interest of his family had more recently obtained for him the favour of the electors of Preston. Preston was, at that time, the only large borough in England which enjoyed a really popular franchise; and the electors, doubting the sincerity of the new minister, refused to re-elect him, preferring to him Hunt, the hero of Peterloo. Stanley was compelled to take refuge in the close borough of Windsor, where the king's interest easily secured his return. His failure was doubly annoying to the ministry. Stanley's rejection by a popular constituency was a bad omen for the popularity of the new Government; and the victory of the great Radical agitator was even more embarrassing than the defeat of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The incidents of the election had, however, brought out in strong relief the characteristics which were to distinguish the new minister in a long political career. The dexterity and courage, the versatility and eloquence, displayed by Stanley on the hustings, stood him afterwards in good stead when he was assailed by a greater orator and a greater agitator than Hunt in the House of Commons.

Stanley defeated at Preston by Hunt.

The composition of the ministry, as a whole, had been attended with little difficulty. But there was one formid-

[1] The *Ann. Reg.* says that Lord Auckland, who was President of the Board of Trade, was also a member of the Cabinet. *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, Chron., p. 216. But the editor appears to have been mistaken on this point.

able politician who had not hitherto been provided for. No member of the Whig party had either the ability or the position of Brougham; yet there was no member for whom it was more difficult to provide. He himself was anxious to obtain the Mastership of the Rolls; but the Rolls was the one office which the king and Grey were determined not to give him. A Master of the Rolls was independent of the Government; he could retain his seat in the House of Commons; and Brougham, independent of the Government, Master of the Rolls, and member for Yorkshire, would possess a power which would be capable of overturning a ministry. Grey desired that Brougham should become Attorney-General. But Brougham resented an offer which would have placed him outside the Cabinet, which would have made him subordinate to Althorp, and which would have exposed him to the expense of a possible contest for Yorkshire. The arrangement seemed likely to fall through; and Brougham, in evident anger at the slight which he thought was cast upon him, took two occasions to express openly in the House of Commons that he had "nothing to do" with the new Government, and that the change in the Administration could not "by any possibility affect" him. The king and the minister were both disconcerted by these declarations and alarmed at the possible consequences of Brougham's opposition. The king suggested that the difficulty might be solved by the offer of the Chancellorship. Grey, who had hoped to persuade Lyndhurst to remain in the office which he had already held under three successive ministers, reluctantly assented to the suggestion; and Brougham, solemnly protesting against the sacrifice which was imposed upon him, gladly accepted the splendid post and became Chancellor and Lord Brougham and Vaux. His mother had the judgment to perceive that, in taking place, he sacrificed power. Some of the more far-sighted of his acquaintances shared her opinion. Brougham, they said, was now *Vaux et præterea nihil*.[1]

Brougham accepts the Chancellorship.

[1] See Campbell's *Chancellors*, vol. viii. p. 376; Le Marchant's *Spencer*, p.

The Administration which was thus formed had one remarkable peculiarity in its composition. It had attained power on the expectation that it would propose a democratic measure of Reform; and it was perhaps the most aristocratic Cabinet of the century. Only four of its members sat in the House of Commons; the first of these was the heir-apparent to an English earldom; the second was an Irish peer; the third a baronet of large property; and the fourth a Scotch landowner, whose possessions qualified him for the peerage which he soon afterwards received. The composition of the Cabinet apparently afforded a guarantee against the adoption of any Radical measures. The first acts of the new ministry, too, reassured the timid politicians, who had been startled by the accession to office of a Government pledged to Reform. The disturbances which had occurred in the agricultural counties of Southern England throughout the autumn were becoming very grave. Isolated outrages were succeeded by organised riots; and the rioters, who levied contributions, destroyed machinery, and burned farm buildings, arrayed themselves in formidable bodies, which the magistrates were powerless to resist. In Wiltshire a regular battle took place between the rioters and the Hindon troop of Yeomanry; and one man was killed and several others were wounded in the encounter. In Hampshire the rioters moved in bodies 1500 strong; and in Berkshire the magistrates found it necessary to obtain the assistance of a detachment of the Guards and of a cavalry regiment to arrest the ringleaders of the mob.[1] Writers, whose influence was unfortunately greater than their judgment, attempted to convince the unfortunate labourers that they were acting wisely and justly in destroying the property of their employers. Cobbett, in

Agricultural disturbances.

261; Roebuck, vol. i. p. 465; Torrens' *Melbourne*, vol. i. p. 344; Brougham's *Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 72; *Hansard*, vol. i. pp. 563, 567; and Greville, vol. ii. p. 89. Brougham was violently attacked for accepting office after his repeated declarations. *Vide, inter alia*, Croker's speech, in *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. i. p. 637.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, Chron., p. 200. Melbourne, vol. i. p. 348. Greville, vol. ii. p. 69.

the *Political Register*, wrote a series of letters on a text, extracted from one of his former papers, "At last it will come to a question of actual starvation or fighting for food; and, when it comes to that point, I know that Englishman will never lie down and die by hundreds by the wayside."[1] Carlile, a writer who years before had been punished for a blasphemous publication, told the wretched labourers,[2] "You are much to be admired for everything you are known to have done during the last month. In war all destructions of property are counted lawful upon the ground of that which is called the law of nations. Yours is a state of warfare, and your ground of quarrel is the want of the necessaries of life in the midst of abundance. Neither your prudence nor your silence has obtained for you the least respectful attention. It is only now that you begin to display your physical as well as your moral strength, that your cruel tyrants treat with you, and offer terms of pacification."[3]

Reckless advice of this kind, offered by such men as Carlile and Cobbett, fanned the discontent which was already spreading through the Southern counties. Immediately after accepting office the new ministers found it necessary to issue a proclamation stating their determination to repress all unlawful assemblies and all acts of outrage, and to promise the Lords Lieutenant of the disturbed districts every possible assistance in quelling disorder. Almost immediately afterwards they decided on the appointment of a Special Commission to try the rioters in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire.[4] The Special Commission was opened on the 18th of December at Winchester. No fewer than 1000 individuals were tried before it, 700 of whom were from Hampshire and Wiltshire alone;[5]

Special Commissions to try the rioters.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Chron., p. 95.

[2] Ibid. p. 18; and Denman, vol. i. p. 332.

[3] Cobbett's articles were brought before Parliament by Trevor, who applied to Cobbett the famous "Quousque tandem" speech of Cicero against Catiline. —*Hansard*, vol. ii. p. 71.

[4] *Hansard*, vol. ii. p. 304. *Corresp. of Earl Grey and William IV.*, vol. i pp. 1–4, 18; and Melbourne, vol. i. pp. 350–354.

[5] *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, p. 200; and 1831, Chron., vol. i. pp. 5, 9.

and the labouring classes, aroused to a consciousness of their folly by these proceedings, gradually abstained from outrages which they found themselves unable to commit with impunity, and relapsed into their ordinary condition of torpid submission to the hardships of their inevitable and hereditary lot.

The proceedings of the Special Commission relieved the Southern counties from a reign of terror which had no parallel in recent English history. But the ministry considered that the rude labourers, whom it had been necessary to punish for their share in the riots, were in reality less culpable than the writers who had encouraged them to persevere in their foolish and mischievous conduct. The moral guilt of Carlile and Cobbett was greater than that of an uninformed rustic; and the conviction of these writers seemed, therefore, of more importance than the execution of a dozen starving workmen. Carlile was tried at the Old Bailey, on the 10th of January 1831. The jury, after many hours' consultation, found him guilty of addressing inflammatory language to the labouring classes; and the Recorder, before whom he was tried, sentenced him to pay a fine of £2000 and to be imprisoned for two years.[1] Cobbett's trial was postponed till the following July; and the postponement possibly saved him from a similar punishment. In January the country had been seriously alarmed at the riots and outrages which were desolating the Southern counties; in July it was violently agitated by the rejection of the first Reform Bill. Language which sensible tradesmen, afraid for the safety of their wares, were ready enough to vote seditious in January, seemed mild, and even praiseworthy, in July. Carlile, in the former month, had been regarded as a malefactor; Cobbett, in the latter month, was applauded as a hero. He entered the court amidst the cheers of his admirers. He concluded a long defence of his own conduct amidst demonstrations of approval which could with difficulty be suppressed. He called as witnesses Brougham, the Chancellor; Melbourne, the Home Secretary; and Lord Radnor, who had obtained repute, under

Trials of Carlile and Cobbett.

[1] Denman, vol. i. p. 331. *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Chron., p. 18.

the courtesy title of Lord Folkestone, as a Liberal member of Parliament. The jury, staggered at the ability and the assurance of the accused, was unable to agree upon a verdict. After keeping them locked up for fifteen hours, the Chief Justice, Lord Tenterden, had the humanity to discharge them; and Cobbett had the satisfaction of reflecting that a prosecution, reluctantly undertaken by a Whig Government and a Whig Attorney-General, had failed.[1]

Long before Cobbett's prosecution had been concluded a series of events had occurred which had altered the direction of men's thoughts and modified their opinions. On assuming office, Grey publicly stated that his Administration was based on the policy of reforming Parliament, of promoting economy and of preserving peace.[2] A measure of Parliamentary reform could not, however, be brought forward without adequate preparation; and, in the first weeks of the session, the time of Parliament was occupied with other matters. There were three subjects, of minor or temporary importance, which it was necessary for the Government to deal with. In the first place, the presumptive heir to the throne was a child who had not yet entered her teens; her uncle, the king, was of an advanced age; and, in the possible contingency of his death, a Regency would be necessary. The Whigs had found fault with the Tories in the previous summer for allowing Parliament to be dissolved without providing for the eventuality;[3] and it was, therefore, clearly impossible for them to delay the provision any longer. In the next place, the Wellington Administration had fallen in an attempt to arrange the new Civil List. The king could not be left without adequate provision for the support of his dignity, and the complicated questions involved in this matter had accordingly to be decided. In the third place, the professions of economy which the Prime Minister had publicly made had to be redeemed, and the financial measures of the year had to be settled.

Arrangements for the Regency.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Chron., p. 95. Denman, vol. i. p. 333.
[2] *Hansard*, vol. i. pp. 606, 610.
[3] Ibid., New Series, vol. xxv. pp. 828, 1067.

Little difficulty was experienced on the first of these questions. On the evening on which the Wellington Administration experienced its final defeat in the House of Commons, Lyndhurst, as Chancellor, introduced the Regency Bill in the House of Lords. The measure was a very simple one. It contemplated the natural and sensible arrangement that, in the event of a Regency becoming necessary, the Princess Victoria's mother should be the Regent during her daughter's minority, without a Council either to assist or to control her. Lyndhurst's proposal, and the speech in which he introduced it, excited warm approval. Grey, after he had accepted office, begged Lyndhurst to go on with the measure; and Lyndhurst, who had been made Chief Baron of the Exchequer, consented to do so.[1] The Regency question was in this way easily concluded, but the settlement of the Civil List was beset with graver difficulties. The victory which the Whigs had achieved upon this subject, and the language which some of them had used, were sources of embarrassment to them. They were pledged by their own votes to refer the Civil List to a committee; and the king was annoyed at the notion of the details of his expenditure being investigated by a tribunal of this character. They had, some of them, insisted that the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster should be surrendered; and the king regarded the suggestion with the utmost jealousy. In his view, the Duchy of Lancaster was the "only remaining pittance" of a "private and independent estate" which his ancestors had enjoyed for centuries.[2] Grey knew that in the next few months he would have to strain the temper of the king in many ways; and wisely forbore, at the outset of his Administration, from insisting on a point which was, after all, only secondary in importance to Reform. William IV.'s indignant protest has preserved, even to the present day, the revenue of the Duchy of Lancaster for the personal use of the Crown. But even the king's indignation could not avert the appointment of the committee which

The Civil List.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. i. pp. 500, 996. Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. viii. p. 70. [2] *Corresp. of Earl Grey and William IV.*, vol. i. p. 11.

Parnell had obtained. Majesty had to submit to the salutary ordeal to which every public officer is liable, and to assent to the principle that its salary, like that of other functionaries, is a matter within the discretion of Parliament.

The new ministry, however, did something more than refer the Civil List to a committee. It revised the proposal which had been made by its predecessor. Goulburn had fixed the Civil List at £970,000. Althorp withdrew from it the diplomatic salaries and other charges, which he placed on the Consolidated Fund, and fixed the residue at £510,000. The reduction, he admitted, was only apparent. Its merit consisted in withdrawing from the control of the Crown various charges over which previous monarchs had unrestricted authority. Economical gentlemen, who had expected the best results from Parnell's victory, were dismayed at this proposal. The pensions granted by the late sovereign technically expired on his demise; and professed economists thought that the opportunity should be taken to terminate the least defensible of them. It so happened that public attention had been lately attracted to the Pension List. A motion which Graham had made for a return of all Privy Councillors with more than £1000 a year had been met by a return of all persons enjoying more than £1000 a year from the State. The Government, in granting the larger return, imagined that they had smothered the motion. It little anticipated the use which would be made of the facts which they were giving. The information, carefully collated and supplemented with other matter, was embodied in the "Black Book," a work which, with many exaggerations and some faults, contains a remarkable picture of the times. Every sinecurist, every pensioner, every pluralist suddenly found himself held up to public scorn. Men whose names figured in the Black Book were filled with terror; men who, fortunately or unfortunately for themselves, were omitted from it were filled with indignation. The public generally vehemently demanded the withdrawal of the pensions; Brougham himself recommended that they should be given up, and it required all the tact of the Prime Minister and all the firm-

The Pension List.

ness of Althorp to save the pensioners. The great Whig ministry was on the point of being wrecked on this unfortunate question.[1]

Althorp's proposal was, however, accepted, and the Civil List was referred to a select committee.[2] After an inquiry which lasted for about six weeks, the committee agreed upon a report. All that the committee did was to recommend the reduction of the salaries of the Lord Chamberlain, the Master of the Horse, the Grooms of the Bedchamber, and some other officers—a reduction which would effect a saving of about £11,000 a year. The king was annoyed at these recommendations. He regarded his lords, his equerries, and his grooms as his personal servants; and he confessed that the proposal to reduce their salaries was not palatable to him.[3] The economists, on the other hand, were disappointed with the report of the committee. The great question on which the Wellington Administration had fallen had resulted in the recommendation of a paltry saving of only £11,000 a year. The mountain had been in labour, and the mouse had been the result.[4] The disappointment was so great, the saving was so small, that the Government ventured on disregarding the report of the committee altogether, and on adhering to its original proposal that the Civil List should be fixed at £510,000 a year; and this proposal was ultimately adopted by Parliament.[5]

Ministers undoubtedly lost some reputation among their friends by the manner in which they dealt with the Civil List.

[1] The king felt very strongly on the point, and, it must be added, very honestly. He was quite ready to submit to any checks upon himself; but, wrote Sir H. Taylor, "he dreads the idea of being called upon to visit the sins of his forefathers upon the objects of their favour and benevolence." Few royal sayings have been either happier or more creditable.—*Corresp. of Earl Grey and William IV.*, vol. i. p. 120. Lord Grey's opinions were similar to the king's. "My own feelings on this subject are so strong that, if the House of Commons decides upon reducing the pensions, I should be very much inclined to retire from the Government."—Ibid., p. 113. Althorp told the Chancellor that "he was perfectly ready to resign" upon it.—*Spencer*, p. 272. Cf. also his declaration in Parliament. *Hansard*, vol. ii. p. 213. For the indignation excited by the Black Book, see Greville, vol. ii. p. 79.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. ii. pp. 152–189.

[3] *Corresp. of Earl Grey and William IV.*, vol. i. pp. 146, 149.

[4] The "*Parturiunt Montes*" was quoted by Grove Price in the House.—*Hansard*, vol. iii. p. 1111.

[5] Ibid., pp. 963, 1113.

Their action in supporting Parnell's motion had encouraged expectations of universal retrenchment; and the disappointment was proportionate when it was discovered that there was to be no retrenchment whatever. There was, however, a very general impression that the shortcomings of the Civil List would be redeemed by ample reforms in the Budget. In dealing with the Civil List, Althorp might be fettered by his obligations to his sovereign. In dealing with the ordinary expenditure of the State, he would be under no obligations to any one. Althorp was nothing if he were not an economical reformer. In 1830 he had supported Graham's notion; he had supported a proposal of Hume's for the abolition of the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland.[1] He owed his original selection as leader of his party to his determination to enforce retrenchment.[2] On the night on which he took his seat after his re-election for Northamptonshire he announced his intention to move for a Select Committee "to inquire into what reductions can and ought to be made in the salaries and emoluments of all officers in his Majesty's service being members of Parliament;"[3] and, in moving for the appointment of the committee, he declared his "firm determination to enforce the most rigid economy, and to effect a thorough retrenchment in every department of the State."[4]

The Budget.

But, though Althorp had distinguished himself as the advocate of economy, every day's experience in office convinced him of the difficulty of redeeming his pledges. Goulburn had placed the expenditure of 1830 at £47,810,000. Althorp was only able to reduce the expenditure of 1831 to £46,850,000.[5] The reductions effected by the Wellington Administration in the preceding year had been so complete that Althorp was unable to do more than save another million. The available income of the year was placed at £47,150,000, or at £300,000 more than the probable expenditure. With such a balance-sheet an ordinary Chancellor of the Exchequer would probably have done nothing. But, if nothing had been done by

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxiv. p. 579. [2] Spencer, p. 267.
[3] *Hansard*, vol. i. p. 797. [4] Ibid., p. 933. [5] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 405.

Althorp, all his promises of economical reform would have been laughed at, and the country would have been disappointed at the failure. Instead of doing nothing, Althorp proposed the boldest Budget which had been brought forward since the days of Pitt. He determined to repeal the taxes on sea-borne coals, on tallow candles, on printed calicoes, on glass, the auction duty on the sale of land, and various other duties which were burdensome to the public without producing much profit to the nation, and to reduce the duty on tobacco and the tax on newspapers by one-half. He estimated that these reductions would involve a net loss to the Exchequer of £3,170,000 a year. This loss he proposed to supply by a tax of ten shillings per cent. on the transfer of all real or funded property; by reducing some of the inequalities in the timber and wine duties, and in the duties on the export of coal, and by imposing new taxation on raw cotton and steamboats. These alterations in old duties and new taxes, he estimated, would produce £2,740,000 a year.[1]

[1] The following was the estimated loss on the taxes which were reduced :—

Tobacco	£800,000
Newspapers, &c.	100,000
Coals and Slate	830,000
Candles	200,000
Cottons	500,000
Glass	600,000
Auctions and Miscellaneous	140,000
Total	£3,170,000

—*Hansard*, vol. ii. p. 413.

The following were the taxes imposed or modified :—

	Old Rate of Duty.	New Rate.	Gain to Exchequer.
	s. *d.*	*s.* *d.*	
Wine, French	7 3	5 6	£240,000
,, Foreign	4 10		
,, Cape	2 3		
Timber, European	55 0	20 0	600,000
,, Canadian	10 0		
Coals, Export, large	17 6	10 0	100,000
,, ,, small	4 6		
Transfers		10*s.* per cent.	1,200,000
Steamboats		1*s.* per 20 miles per passenger	100,000
Cotton		1*d.* per lb.	500,000
Total			£2,740,000

—*Hansard*, vol. ii. p. 417.

The Budget was an ambitious one. The speech in which it was explained was received with enthusiasm; and Althorp's friends imagined that the cheering which every fresh proposal elicited pointed to the success of the scheme. Althorp, however, had hardly sat down before Goulburn rose to denounce the proposed tax on transfers. The National Debt, he argued, had been created on the express stipulation that the Stock should be free from any tax or imposition whatever, and the new tax would violate the contract between the individuals who had advanced, and the State who had borrowed, their money. Later on in the evening Peel used similar language; while Sugden, warming with the discussion, declared that the proposition "involved as gross a violation of public faith as had ever been permitted by any revolutionary Government." The dissatisfaction which was thus loudly expressed in the House was succeeded the next morning by a perfect uproar in the City. The Cabinet, alarmed at the storm which the proposal had excited, hastily met, and decided on its withdrawal. Its withdrawal was almost immediately announced in both Houses.[1]

Althorp had experienced the satisfaction of proposing an ambitious Budget and the mortification of meeting with almost universal condemnation. But his humiliation was not complete. The loss of the £1,200,000 which he had hoped to derive from the proposed tax on transfers, compelled him to modify his other suggestions, and to retain the duties on tobacco and glass as he found them. This concession, however, did not satisfy an Opposition flushed with the excitement of an important victory. They denounced the tax on steamboat passengers as an unnecessary burden on the poorer classes of travellers.[2] They declared that the alteration of the wine duties was a violation of the Methuen Treaty with Portugal;[3]

The timber duties.

and they assailed the proposed alteration of the timber duties as an injustice to Canada. "Timber" became the watchword of the Protectionists, and all the influence

[1] *Hansard*, vol. ii. pp. 419, 443, 455, 471, 491. Spencer, p. 283.
[2] *Hansard*, vol. ii. p. 643. [3] Ibid., p. 745.

which they possessed was exerted to defeat the proposal of the minister. The Protectionists were so formidable that Althorp again found it necessary to give way, and to content himself with proposing a smaller and more gradual reduction in the duties on European timber, and to refrain from increasing the rates on Canadian timber. This concession, however, failed to satisfy the Protectionists. Althorp's modified proposal was rejected on the 18th of March by 236 votes to 190; and the timber duties were accordingly left undisturbed.[1]

There was no doubt that the results of the Budget had seriously damaged Althorp's reputation. There was equally no doubt that the position of the Government had become much more critical. The Opposition had shown its strength; and its strength had been displayed at a momentous period. The Reform Bill was already before the House; and many of the members who had voted against the timber duties had probably been animated by a desire to embarrass a Government which had committed itself to a large measure of Reform. But the question from which they thus desired to free themselves saved the Government from the humiliation which its defeat on the timber duties would otherwise have occasioned it. The failure of the Whig Budget was forgotten amidst the enthusiasm which the Whig Reform Bill everywhere excited. Petty questions, like taxes on transfers and on timber, failed to attract attention or to excite interest among men engaged in discussing the reconstruction of a Legislature.

The Reform Bill.

Parliamentary reform had been promised by the Government. But Parliamentary reform was an elastic expression, susceptible of almost any interpretation. The Chartists, who desired the ballot, manhood suffrage, and annual Parliaments, professed themselves Reformers; moderate men, who would have been satisfied with the disfranchisement of two or three rotten boroughs, and the concurrent enfranchisement of two or three populous towns, claimed also to be Reformers. Even in the Grey Cabinet the widest differences of opinion existed.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. iii. p. 576.

Brougham objected to the disfranchisement of the close boroughs;[1] Grey was in favour of it. Brougham desired household suffrage; the Cabinet inclined to a £20 qualification. Durham was in favour of the ballot; Grey of quinquennial Parliaments; Graham of enfranchising the suburbs of the metropolis; Palmerston and Melbourne of the minimum of change. Puzzled by these differences of opinion, the Cabinet decided on appointing a small committee of four members to inquire into and report upon the subject. Two members of the Cabinet, Graham and Durham, were placed upon the committee. Russell and Lord Duncannon were associated with them upon it. Duncannon, who soon afterwards became First Commissioner of Land Revenue, was the eldest son of the Earl of Bessborough. He was an old schoolfellow of Althorp's; he had for many years been a member of Parliament, and for the greater part of that period he had acted as "whipper-in" to the Opposition.[2] His experience in that capacity had naturally given him a very intimate acquaintance with the feelings of the House, and with the wishes of the Whig members. His presence on the committee from these circumstances became useful and desirable.

The Reform Committee.

The committee, which was thus appointed, agreed upon a remarkable report. It proposed the disfranchisement of all boroughs with less than 2000 inhabitants; the semi disfranchisement of all boroughs with less than 4000 inhabitants; the extension of the elective franchise to all £20 householders in boroughs; the enfranchisement of £50 leaseholders, and £10 copyholders in counties; and the grant of members to all populous towns with 10,000 inhabitants, and of additional members to all counties with 150,000 inhabitants. In addition to these recommendations it proposed the enforcement of residence, the registration of votes, the adoption of the ballot, an increase in the number of polling booths, the shortening of the duration of the poll, the taking the poll in the hundreds or divisions of counties, and the limit of the

[1] *Corresp. of Earl Grey and William IV.*, vol. i. p. 81, note; and cf. Brougham, vol. iii. p. 92.

[2] Spencer, p. 48.

duration of each Parliament to five years.[1] Grey at once objected to that part of the proposed scheme which contemplated the adoption of the ballot; and the ballot was in consequence rejected. Its rejection smoothed the way for the king's reception of the measure. Nothing would have induced him to consent to the ballot; the report, without the ballot, received his deliberate approval.[2] The majority of the Cabinet agreed with the king, but decided on making one other alteration in the recommendations of the committee. A £20 household franchise in boroughs, it was found, would act as a measure of exclusion, as in many boroughs there were not even ten persons rated to a £20 house. The Cabinet, in consequence, decided on making a £10 instead of a £20 house the qualification for the borough franchise.

These principles, adopted by the Cabinet and approved by the king, formed the basis of the first Reform Bill of the Whig ministry. It was found that there were sixty boroughs, returning 119 members, which had less than 2000 inhabitants at the date of the last census; and that there were forty-six other boroughs with less than 4000 inhabitants at the same date. The disfranchisement of the sixty boroughs in the first category, the semi-disfranchisement of the forty-six boroughs in the second category, and the semi-disfranchisement of Weymouth, which had previously returned four members, placed 167 seats at the disposal of the ministry. It was proposed to give five additional members to Scotland, five to Ireland, and one to Wales; and to add fifty-five members to the English counties, and forty-four members to the great unrepresented towns. It was proposed that every person in a Scotch county possessing a beneficial interest in lands or houses, either as a freeholder or a copyholder, to the amount of £10, or as a leaseholder to the amount of £50, should

Their report approved by the Cabinet and the king.

[1] *Earl Grey and William IV.*, vol. i. p. 461.

[2] The letter in which the king approved the measure is highly creditable to him as a Constitutional monarch. (*Earl Grey and William IV.*, vol. i. pp. 94–104.) It is perhaps the first of the many remarkable letters in the king's correspondence with Lord Grey which show how far better William IV. understood his position than either his father or his brother.

be entitled to a vote, and that the borough franchise in Scotland should be assimilated to that of England. It was not proposed to interfere with the county representation in Ireland, but to give a vote to every person residing in an Irish borough occupying a £10 tenement.

Such were the leading provisions of the first Reform Bill. Under ordinary circumstances, it would have been natural to have entrusted it to the leader of the House of Commons. But the Cabinet decided that it should be introduced by Russell, the Paymaster of the Forces. Various reasons induced them to arrive at this decision. Russell had for more than ten years actively promoted the reform of Parliament. A bill which was brought forward on his responsibility was, therefore, sure of favourable consideration from the Reformers. Russell, moreover, was a younger son of the Duke of Bedford; the Duke was one of the largest territorial magnates in the country; he was the proprietor of rotten boroughs; and a bill recommended by his son's authority was likely to reassure timid or wavering politicians.[1] Something was, indeed, necessary to infuse spirit into the hearts of the Reformers in Parliament. Outside the House a crowd of people, anxiously collected throughout the greater portion of the day, testified their anxiety for the success of the measure which was about to be introduced. But inside the House, Russell was confronted by a compact body of Tories, anxious to learn what the ministry were about to propose, but ready to forget their own differences in their dislike to all reform. Those who had expected a great declamatory speech from the introducer of the measure were disappointed. Russell told his tale in the plainest language. But the tale which he had to tell required no extraordinary eloquence to adorn it. The Radicals had not dared to expect, the Tories, in their wildest fears, had not apprehended, so complete a measure. Enthusiasm was visible on one side of the House; consternation and dismay on the other. At last, when Russell read

The Reform Bill entrusted to Lord J. Russell.

[1] Roebuck, vol. ii. p. 66, where, however, Mr. Roebuck hardly does justice to Lord J. Russell's earlier efforts.

the list of boroughs which were doomed to extinction, the Tories hoped that the completeness of the measure would ensure its defeat. Forgetting their fears, they began to be amused, and burst into peals of derisive laughter.[1]

Men of large experience believed that if Peel had risen the moment Russell sat down, and had declined to discuss a bill which was not a measure of "reform but of revolution," the House would have refused to allow the bill to be introduced. It is very unlikely, however, that such a result would have ensued. Tory members, like Inglis, had come down to the House primed with arguments to prove that little fishing-villages in Cornwall were better qualified to return members than the great manufacturing towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire. Tory members, like Inglis, who had searched through Camden and Hatsell, Henry and Rapin, Hallam and Burke, who had telling quotations in their pockets from Horne Tooke's writings and Canning's speeches, would hardly have consented to waste all their labour by smothering the newborn infant in the hour of its birth.[2] The House, instead of dividing, talked through the night and adjourned till the morrow. The debate, thus adjourned, was protracted over seven nights; but every fresh adjournment strengthened the hands of the ministry and weakened those of the Opposition. The measure, which had excited derision in the House, was received with enthusiasm out of doors. Resolutions supporting the bill were passed at monster meetings in all the large towns. Moderate members, warned by the attitude of the country, declined to commit themselves to an uncompromising opposition to it; and the bill, which might possibly have been thrown out on

The first reading passed.

[1] Brougham's *Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 106. Cf. Roebuck, vol. ii. p. 88. Spencer, pp. 299, 310; and Dalling's *Peel*, p. 88. Russell's *Recollections and Suggestions*, p. 72. In the account of the bill I have followed the bill itself, instead of the report of Russell's speech in *Hansard*, vol. ii. p. 1061, which differs from the bill in some slight details.

[2] Sir R. Inglis delivered, almost immediately after the introduction of the bill, a dull, learned, and elaborate argument, fortified by innumerable quotations from various authorities.—*Hansard*, vol. ii. p. 1090.

the 1st of March, was read a first time without a division on the 9th.[1]

The Tories, however, had neither reconciled themselves to the bill nor withdrawn their opposition to it. The second reading was fixed for Monday, the 21st of March. On the preceding Friday the Government was defeated on the timber duties, and the thoroughness of the defeat raised the drooping spirits of the Opposition. Ministers, indeed, hoped for a considerable majority upon the second reading; but, like prudent men, they desired to prepare for the consequences of defeat, and to obtain the king's permission, in that contingency, to dissolve Parliament. The king, however, shrank from the proposal to appeal to an excited population, and could not bring himself to face the consequences of a general election either in England or in Ireland. Ministers failed to obtain the permission, which they again and again urged him to give them.[2] Happily, however, dissolution at that stage did not become necessary. After two nights' debate the bill was read a second time by 302 votes to 301, or by a narrow majority of one. The pressure of public opinion had thus defeated the united efforts of all the boroughmongers. The representatives of great constituencies, like Sir Thomas Acland, the member for Devonshire, and Mr. Wilson Patten, who had lately been returned for Lancashire, felt the full force of the popular movement, and voted for the bill. Even Charles Wynn, who had been frightened by the immensity of the scheme into resigning his office in the ministry,[3] silently supported it; and the necessity for the dissolution was for the moment avoided.[4]

The second reading carried.

The majority by which the bill had been read a second time was so small that the ministry could hardly hope to carry the measure through its later stages. Prudent men, who disliked Reform, but dreaded the alternative of a popular commotion, hoped that the bill might be silently rejected by

[1] *Hansard*, vol. iii. p. 317.
[2] *Corresp. of Earl Grey and William IV.*, vol. i. pp. 158, 159, 176, 179.
[3] Ibid., p. 151.
[4] *Hansard*, vol. iii. p. 804.

an adverse division in committee.[1] The bill, however, was not destined to survive to this stage. Gascoyne, the member for Liverpool, proposed a preliminary resolution, that the number of representatives in England and Wales should not be diminished. It was obvious that the whole strength of the Tory party would rally in Gascoyne's support, and the ministry accordingly decided to meet the motion by a slight concession. Five boroughs were taken out of Schedule A. and transferred to Schedule B. Seven boroughs were taken out of Schedule B.[2] Eight counties and seven large towns were given an additional member, and additional members were awarded to Ireland and to one other large town. But these concessions did not conciliate the Opposition. Men like Sir Thomas Acland, Mr. Wilson Patten, and Charles Wynn, who had supported the Government on the second reading, ventured on opposing it on Gascoyne's motion; and the Ministry was accordingly defeated by 299 votes to 291.[3]

Gascoyne's motion on going into committee.

This division, which took place on the 19th of April, proved fatal to the Reform Bill and to the Parliament of 1830. The Cabinet, on the following morning, decided on recommending a dissolution. The king, after four-and-twenty hours' consideration, gave his consent to it.[4] The ministers at once announced that the bill would not be proceeded with, and endeavoured to go on with the ordinary business of the evening. The Opposition, however, declined to enter into the discussion of the Estimates, which happened to be before the House, and raised a confused and desultory debate on Reform. The night wore away; supply had not been granted; and the Opposition, showing no signs of concession, moved the adjournment of the debate. The motion was met with all the resistance which ministers could offer to it; but the defeat of the previous evening had lessened their influence.

The dissolution of 1831.

[1] Greville, vol. ii. p. 132.

[2] Schedule A. contained the names of the boroughs to be wholly disfranchised; Schedule B. the names of those to be semi-disfranchised.

[3] *Hansard*, vol. iii. p. 1688.

[4] *Correspondence of Earl Grey and William IV.*, vol. i. pp. 225, 232.

They were beaten by 164 votes to 142, and the adjournment was consequently carried.[1]

The division hastened the dissolution, which in any event would have taken place. Before the debate was closed Althorp sent word to Grey that the supplies could not be obtained, and that, in his opinion, the dissolution ought to take place at once. Grey happened to be dining, with several other members of the Cabinet, with his son-in-law, Durham. A council was immediately held, at which it was decided to act on Althorp's advice. A messenger was at once sent to the king; and the king, on the same evening, approved the dissolution. Orders were, accordingly, given to the Clerk of the Council directing him the next day to bring to the palace the papers which are required when Parliament is to be dissolved by commission. But, on the following morning, the Cabinet discovered that this arrangement would not be satisfactory. Lord Wharncliffe had given notice of a motion for an address to the Crown against a dissolution. The Opposition peers had made up their minds to carry this address, and the ministry was equally desirous to prevent its adoption. If Parliament, however, were prorogued by commission, the adoption of the address could not be prevented. Before admitting the commissioners the House of Lords was entitled to dispose of the business before it; and the Opposition peers could not, therefore, be stopped, unless the king himself consented to dissolve Parliament in person. Fortunately for the ministry, the king's consent was easily procured. However much he had originally disliked the proposal for a dissolution, he disliked much more the attempt which was to be made in the House of Lords to interfere with his prerogative to dissolve. He declared that he would go himself at once; that, if his carriages could not be got ready, he would go in a hackney-coach. Trumpery difficulties, raised by some of his household, about preparing the state carriages and plaiting the horses' manes, might have proved impassable mountains in

[1] *Hansard*, vol. iii. pp. 1765, 1805.

the reign of George—they were only molehills in the reign of William.[1]

On the afternoon on which the dissolution took place the House of Lords met at two, the House of Commons at half-past two. The impending dissolution had just become known, and both Houses were the scene of disorder and confusion rarely witnessed in Parliament. In the House of Commons the violence was sufficiently marked. In the House of Lords the peers were nearly coming to blows. Wharncliffe had barely time to read his motion before his speech was stopped by shouts of "The king!" Brougham increased the uproar by angrily declaring that the House of Commons had thought fit to take the extreme and unprecedented step of refusing the supplies. The complaint only increased the anger of the Tories. Brougham was hooted. Londonderry shook his fist at Richmond. The peeresses who had come to look at the king trembled in the gallery. The king himself, alarmed at the uproar, hesitated for a moment to enter the House. Brougham, however, easily persuaded him that the indecorous uproar would be hushed by his presence. He came, and told his turbulent legislators that he had come to prorogue the Parliament, with a view to its immediate dissolution.[2]

The scene in the Lords.

The consternation of the Opposition at the sudden dissolution of the Parliament of 1830 was exceeded by the enthusiasm which was created by the news of it in the country. London was illuminated; Tory peers had their windows broken by the mob; and even the great services of Wellington did not

[1] The true account of this will be found in the correspondence between Earl Grey and William IV., vol. i. pp. 234–236, note. It is only necessary to relate it here because Brougham makes himself the hero of a very inaccurate account (*Memoirs*, vol. iii. pp. 113–116), which he apparently communicated to Mr. Roebuck (*Hist. of Whig Ministry*, vol. ii. p. 149), and certainly communicated to Mr. Molesworth (*Hist. of Reform Bill*, p. 186; and preface to 2nd edition, p. 8). Mr. Roebuck's story is copied by Alison, *more suo*, by the page, vol. iv. pp. 330–332. Miss Martineau has a much shorter and more accurate account in her *History of the Thirty Years' Peace*, vol. ii. p. 35. She had the great advantage of deriving no assistance from Brougham.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. iii. p. 1807. Greville, vol. ii. p. 137. Melbourne, vol. i. p. 369. Brougham, vol. iii. p. 118.

protect Apsley House from damage. Every one was required to illuminate, and duke or citizen who failed to manifest his participation in the universal elation[1] had to pay the penalty for his indifference to the general rejoicing. The illumination of the streets of London was, however, only one symptom of the general excitement. From John-o'-Groat's to the Land's End a cry was raised of "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." Printed lists were circulated stating the manner in which each member had voted on Gascoyne's motion. Every one who had directly or indirectly opposed Reform incurred the full animosity of the populace. Gascoyne himself was defeated at Liverpool; Sir Robert Wilson, an ardent Reformer on most points, lost his seat at Southwark for having supported Gascoyne. County members like Vyvyan, the member for Cornwall, Knatchbull, the member for Kent, and Bankes, the member for Dorsetshire, were replaced by Reformers. Even the influence of the boroughmongers was lost in the crisis. For the first time Newcastle found himself unable to do what he liked with his own. His candidates were defeated at Newark, at Bassetlaw, and in Nottinghamshire. Lonsdale proved almost equally powerless in Cumberland. The mighty force of popular opinion, bursting the bonds by which it had been controlled, swept political power out of the hands of the borough-owners and transferred it to the people.

The illumination of the metropolis, and the enthusiasm of the country.

The general election which thus took place in the summer of 1831 in reality completed the triumph of the Reformers. The Legislature had still to register the verdict of the country, but it had not the slightest chance of reversing it. A long succession of causes had been slowly preparing the passage of the Reform Bill; and all the

The strength of the popular demand.

[1] The illumination took place on the 27th of April. Two days before, or on the 25th of April, the Duchess of Wellington died. Her dead body was lying in Apsley House on the evening of the illumination. The mob, when they learned the fact from the police, moved away from Apsley House without committing further damage.—*Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Chron., p. 69. Londonderry —Greville irreverently calls him "that ass, Lord Londonderry"—had his windows left unmended for months.—*Greville*, vol. ii. p. 180.

efforts of all the Tory Governments had been powerless to prevent it. During the continuance of the Great War, indeed, the people, frightened by the excesses of French republicans and dazzled by the achievements of their own arms, had, for a moment, forgotten their grievances. But during the whole of the period the reasons for Reform were continually acquiring greater significance. The population, moving towards the coalfields, was creating a new England in the Northern counties; while the little agricultural towns and fishing-villages of the South had ceased to grow. In consequence, on the return of peace, the demand for Reform was raised with a louder voice than ever. Foolish statesmen, relying on the reputation which military success had secured them, attempted to stifle the cry of the people by repressive laws and wholesale prosecutions. They succeeded, for the moment, in quelling the agitation, and had the folly to imagine that they had stopped the rising of the tide. While they were congratulating themselves on their success the tide was still rising. The force of the waters was occasionally diverted into new channels, but the tide never ceased to rise. It helped to sweep autocracy from the Spanish colonies; it helped to drive the Turks from Greece; it washed away the religious disabilities invented in the seventeenth century; it made a breach in the Protective system which previous generations had established. The accumulating waters, pouring into such channels as these, ceased for the moment to threaten the citadel—the boasted Constitution in which a handful of politicians had entrenched themselves. But the waters had not ceased to rise; they had only been diverted into new inlets. These inlets filled, the waters rose again. They washed away the rampart in which the Tories had made their stand. It was in vain that the governing classes attempted to repair the breach, which was continually increasing. A child might as well hope to arrest the tide with its sand-castle. The rising waters sweep away the little mound of shifting sand. The force of a mighty nation swept away the legislators who fancied that they had power to control it.

Yet these truths were not recognised by Tories and Protectionists, though their outworks had already crumbled beneath their feet. They were unable to realise the silent revolution which had been effected in their own time. They were unwilling to admit that the course of events, which the Legislature had previously controlled, was in future to control the Legislature. It was true that in one House of Parliament the Reformers had already secured a majority which it was hopeless to withstand, and that the utmost that the Tories could expect was to delay the passage of a measure which they had no longer the power to defeat. What then? The House of Commons, in the opinion of statesmen nursed in the traditions of a past age which was already fading from their view, was only one of the three estates of the realm. The Lords spiritual and temporal had, in theory, as much power as the representatives of the people. The peers might, at any rate, be trusted to resist to the last a measure which would diminish their power and possibly interfere with their privileges. A cause which was lost in the Commons might, therefore, be recovered in the Lords; and borough-owners and landlords might still save the privileges which were being washed from under their feet. Clinging thus tenaciously to the traditions of the past, Tory statesmen failed to read the signs of the times or to appreciate the force of the rising waters. They thought that their force might be stayed by the legislative machinery which their ancestors had devised. They thought that a handful of peers might hold a breach through which a nation was swarming.

The attitude of the Tories.

It was the distinguishing merit of the Whig minister of 1830 that he had realised the necessity for Reform a whole generation before the demand for it became irresistible. He was not likely, therefore, to misunderstand the signs of the times in which he was living. The new Parliament was formally opened on the 21st of June. Three days afterwards, or on the 24th of June, Russell introduced the second Reform Bill. But his position had been materially altered since he had been entrusted with the

The introduction of the second Reform Bill.

original bill, nearly four months before. His services had been properly rewarded by his admission to the Cabinet.[1] His courage had been proportionately raised by the enthusiasm and strength of his supporters. He no longer spoke with the hesitation and diffidence which had marked his introduction of the original Reform Bill. But he had no concessions to offer. The country had demanded the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill; and the ministry had decided on the reintroduction of the bill without material amendment. Fifty-four boroughs had been doomed to disfranchisement, forty-four boroughs to semi-disfranchisement, in the latest edition of the original bill. The new bill proposed the disfranchisement of fifty-seven boroughs and the semi-disfranchisement of forty others.[2] Both bills, therefore, contemplated the same measure of disfranchisement. Both bills proposed the enfranchisement of the same great towns. The ministry had, therefore, adhered to all the salient features of their original plan. The Opposition was no longer able, however, to pursue its previous tactics. In March the motion for the introduction of the bill had been carried after seven nights' debate; the second reading had been carried after two nights' debate by a majority of only one. In June leave for the introduction of the bill was granted after one night's discussion, and the second reading was carried on the morning of the 8th of July by a majority of 136.[3]

The majority was so large, the enthusiasm of the House of Commons was so great, that the ministry might fairly hope for the rapid passage of the measure through its future stages. The Opposition, however, exhausted the forms of Parliament to delay a proposal which it was no longer doubtful that it was unable to defeat. On the 12th of July Russell moved

[1] He and Stanley were both promoted to the Cabinet immediately before the opening of the session.—*Greville*, vol. ii. p. 150.

[2] Downton and St. Germains were transferred from Schedule B. to Schedule A. Penryn and Sandwich were taken out of Schedule B.

[3] The numbers are given in *Hansard*, vol. iv. p. 906, as 367 to 231. In the analysis of the division, however, only 230 names are printed in the minority. In the summary at the end of it the minority is credited with 232 (p. 919).

that the House should go into committee upon the bill. The committee lasted for forty nights, and did not conclude its labours till the 7th of September.[1] No material alterations in the measure were effected by the committee. The old borough of Saltash was transferred from Schedule A. to Schedule B. Ashton and Stroud were each given a member; two Welsh counties, Carmarthen and Denbigh, an additional member each; and the right of voting was extended, on the motion of Lord Chandos, to £50 occupiers in counties.[2] These slight alterations hardly rewarded the Opposition for its persistent labours. Night after night had been wasted with an objectless discussion, which only irritated the country and wearied the Government. On the first of the forty nights motions for adjournment were again and again repeated, and the Opposition did not finally give way till eight o'clock on the following morning. Happily for the comfort of the Legislature, the example which was thus set by an irritated minority was not followed for another forty-six years.[3]

The impatience of the country.

Delay was hardly tolerated within the walls of Parliament. Outside the walls of Parliament the people watched with ill-disguised impatience the tactics of the Opposition. They could not understand why the discussion of a measure which was acceptable to a large majority of the House of Commons, and to nine men out of every ten in the country, should be protracted over forty nights. At the commencement of August the Birmingham Political Union marked its sense of the delays by petitioning the House to accelerate the progress of the bill. The House declined to accept the petition which complained of "a factious and puerile opposition" by "a small and interested minority."[4] But the petition, though it was re-

[1] *Hansard*, vol. vi. p. 1228.

[2] The "Chandos clause" really originated with Colonel Sibthorp; and Sibthorp bitterly complained of Chandos anticipating him.—*Hansard*, vol. vi. p. 283.

[3] Peel, to his credit, went home to bed at an early hour, and the contest was maintained by a small and dwindling body of old Tories, headed by Sir C. Wetherell.—*Spencer*, p. 333.

[4] *Hansard*, vol. v. p. 589.

jected, did its work. The committee steadily applied itself to the details of the measure. A proposal, made by Hunt, for the enfranchisement of all ratepapers, was defeated by a majority of 123 votes to 1; a suggestion by Hume for the representation of the colonies was rejected without a division.[1] On the 7th of September the bill was reported; on the 13th the report was considered;[2] on the 19th the bill was read a third time without discussion; and finally, on the 21st of September, it was passed, after three nights' debate, by 345 votes to 236.[3]

The discussion on the bill, after its passage through committee, had been temporarily interrupted by the coronation of the king and queen. The king, who hated display, had desired to dispense with the ceremony; and the ministry, bent on economy, had zealously endeavoured to promote his wishes. But the Tories would not tolerate the omission of a ceremonial to which they attached almost as much importance as to the preservation of rotten boroughs; and king and ministers were consequently both compelled to give way. The king, however, endeavoured to simplify the proceedings; he objected to being separately kissed by each peer; and thought that the senior member of each rank of the peerage might act as proxy for his brethren. The ministry considered that it might save the public some expense, and the monarch some fatigue, by dispensing with the peeresses' procession. Such great innovations were not tolerated by noble lords intent on preserving their privileges. The peeresses were allowed to display their dresses; the king was forced to submit to the customary kisses of his peers; and the wrath of the peerage was appeased by these timely concessions.[4]

The coronation.

The concessions, however, did not alter the determination of the ministry to avoid the reckless extravagance which had characterised the coronation of George IV. On that occasion

[1] *Hansard*, vol. vi. pp. 143, 558.
[2] Ibid., pp. 1228, 1388.
[3] Ibid., vol. vii. pp. 141, 464.
[4] Ibid., vol. v. p. 1167; vol. vi. pp. 208, 365. *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Chron., p. 153; and cf. Greville, vol. ii. p. 185.

£240,000 had been expended; and the expenditure had hardly had a redeeming quality about it. The extravagance of the ceremony had been only equalled by the meanness and folly of the principal actors in it. Even the Dean and Chapter of Westminster had cut down some fine old trees in Palace Yard in order that they might be able to make an additional £10 by the erection of some scaffolding.[1] The king had appeared in hired jewels, and his neglect to return them had saddled the country with an expense of thousands of pounds. The robes which he had worn on the occasion had been put away and forgotten, and ultimately sold, by his executors' orders, at the commencement of his successor's reign. His kid trousers, lined with white satin, were knocked down for a dozen shillings; and the crimson mantle, which had cost him £500, was disposed of for 47 guineas.[2] The reckless profusion which had characterised the conduct of George IV. appeared in a new light when his wardrobe was disposed of by public auction for a tithe of its value; and the ministry was accordingly supported in its determination to resist the repetition of unnecessary waste.

The ceremony, shorn of some of its previous proportions, took place on the 8th of September; and proved that a fine display could be secured without profuse extravagance. The weather was magnificent, the procession splendid, the people enthusiastic, the Abbey gay with the uniforms of the men and the dresses of the women. The peeresses had the satisfaction of exhibiting their jewellery; and peers, spiritual and temporal, were permitted to salute his Majesty in person. But with the conclusion of the ceremony in church the public pageant terminated. The gorgeous banquet, which had been a peculiar feature in the coronation of George IV., was omitted from the coronation of his successor; and the great men of the day had to satisfy themselves with dining at the expense of the king in his palace, or of his ministers in their houses, instead of being feasted at the public cost in Westminster Hall. But this

[1] *Hansard*, New Series, vol. viii. p. 1127.
[2] *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Chron., p. 81.

omission did not detract from the splendour of the pageant. Those who had grumbled most at the retrenchments of the ministers were forced to admit that their economies had been justified; and the asperities of political warfare were smoothed by the interposition of a ceremony in which Whigs and Tories had held a common share.

The satisfaction which the coronation gave probably facilitated the progress of the Reform Bill through its later stages in the House of Commons. But the recollection of the gay scene was effaced before the bill reached the House of Lords on the 22nd of September. The formal proceedings which are customary when a bill is carried from one House to the other were, on this occasion, watched with breathless anxiety; and the Commons, instead of retiring from the bar, waited till the second reading of the bill had been fixed for Monday, the 3rd of October.[1] The debate which commenced on that day was one of the most memorable which had ever occurred in the House of Lords. It was opened by a minister who was able to avow that he stood before their lordships "the advocate of principles from which" he had "never swerved,"[2] and that he was only proposing in his old age the measure which he had promoted in his youth. Grey's commanding eloquence had never been exerted with more effect than in this debate. Chancellor and ex-Chancellor vied with each other, towards the close of it, in speeches of unusual power. Brougham actually supplicated his brother peers on his knees to pass the bill.[3] Consummate actor that he was, he made the common mistake of overacting his part, and became ridiculous when he intended to be sublime. Lyndhurst, in a speech of marked ability, replied to Brougham's declamation; and after a few desultory speeches from dukes and prelates, and an eloquent reply from Grey, the peers rejected the second reading of the measure by 199 votes to 158.[4]

The Reform Bill in the Lords.

The bill defeated.

The memorable division took place about six o'clock in the

[1] *Hansard*, vol. vii. p. 479.
[2] Ibid., p. 930.
[3] Ibid., vol. viii. p. 275.
[4] Ibid., p. 339.

morning on Saturday, the 8th of October. The newspapers, a few hours afterwards, announced it to the discontented capital. The *Chronicle* and the *Sun* appeared in mourning. The *Times*, in its short leading article, declared that it turned from "the appalling sight of a wounded nation to the means already in action for recovery." The means were sufficiently formidable. The Common Council of the City at once met in support of the measure. Those members of the House of Commons who had supported the bill passed a vote of confidence in the Government. London, however, appeared apathetic when its action was contrasted with that of the country. The news of the division reached Birmingham at five o'clock in the afternoon. The bells were immediately muffled and tolled. The mob at Derby, irritated at the announcement, broke out into open riot. The gaol at Nottingham was burned down. Two troops of Kentish Yeomanry tendered their resignations because their commanding officers, Lord Sydney and Lord Winchilsea, had voted against the bill; and meetings were held in almost every county to support the Government.[1]

The indignation of the country.

There was, however, one satisfaction for the Reformers. The *Chronicle* had assured them, in its black-edged columns, that "the triumph of the wicked does not endure for ever," and the triumph of the Opposition promised to be equally shortlived. The House of Commons had hardly reassembled on the Monday before Ebrington proposed a resolution lamenting the fate of the Reform Bill, and expressing unabated confidence in the Ministry. The motion was resisted by Goulburn, on the part of the Opposition. But neither Ebrington nor Goulburn succeeded in instilling any enthusiasm into the House. Among the more recent additions to the House of Commons, however, there was a young orator whose eloquence was equal to his ardour, and whose ardour was stimulated by his knowledge. Thomas Babington Macaulay was born in 1800. He entered

Lord Ebrington's resolution.

[1] See the files of the *Times*, *Chronicle*, and other papers for 8th, 10th, and 11th of October 1831. *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Chron., p. 161.

Parliament for Lord Lansdowne's borough of Calne in February 1830. He only spoke twice during the memorable session which was abruptly concluded by the death of George IV. He had done nothing which gave him any right to expect office in Grey's ministry, and when the Whig Administration was formed his claims were overlooked. Yet the introduction of the Reform Bill raised him at once to eminence. His first speech on the second reading of the first bill reminded the older members who heard it of the days of Fox, of Pitt, and of Canning. His next speech, on the second reading of the second bill, confirmed the great impression which his first speech had made. He rose after Goulburn to support Ebrington's motion. Goulburn had endeavoured to limit the debate to a discussion of the measures of the Government—the timber duties, the coal duties, the sugar duties. Macaulay brushed away the cobwebs which Goulburn had woven as mere trifling, and recalled the House to the one subject which was before it: "At the present moment I can see only one question in the State—the question of Reform; only two parties—the friends of the bill and its enemies. . . . The public enthusiasm is undiminished. Old Sarum has grown no bigger; Manchester has grown no smaller. . . . I know only two ways in which societies can be governed—by public opinion and by the sword. A Government having at its command the armies, the fleets, and the revenues of Great Britain might possibly hold Ireland by the sword. So Oliver Cromwell held Ireland; so William the Third held it; so Mr. Pitt held it; so the Duke of Wellington might perhaps have held it. But to govern Great Britain by the sword—so wild a thought has never, I will venture to say, occurred to any public man of any party. But if not by the sword, how is the country to be governed? . . . In old times, when the villeins were driven to revolt by oppression, when a hundred thousand insurgents appeared in arms on Blackheath, the king rode up to them and exclaimed, 'I will be your leader!' and at once the infuriated multitude laid down their arms and dispersed at his command. Herein let us imitate

Macaulay's speech.

him. Let us say," to our countrymen, "'We are your leaders. Our lawful power shall be firmly exerted to the utmost in your cause; and our lawful power is such that it must finally prevail.'"[1]

Macaulay's speech had the merit of concentrating the attention of his audience on the main issue. The House, aroused by it into enthusiasm, passed Ebrington's resolution by a large majority;[2] and the ministry, thus supported in its determination to persevere in the measure,[3] obtained the king's assent to a short prorogation of Parliament, and to the reintroduction of the Reform Bill, with such amendments as might be necessary, after the conclusion of the recess. The country was partly pacified by the assurance that the ministry intended to persevere. But the Political Unions displayed an increasing determination to intimidate the peers. A vast meeting, which was said to have consisted of 150,000 persons, was held at Birmingham; resolutions were passed at it that no taxes should be paid if the Reform Bill were rejected; and thanks were unanimously voted at it to Althorp and Russell. Althorp wrote to Attwood, the president of the Union, that "the unanimous approbation of 150,000 of my fellow-countrymen is no trifling honour," and went on to urge Attwood to use his influence with the members of the Union, and prevail upon them to continue to pay their taxes. Russell, after acknowledging the compliment paid to him, declared that it was "impossible that the whisper of faction should prevail against the voice of a nation." Hyperbole is always unwise. It was absurd to call a majority of the House of Lords a faction; it was still more absurd to speak of a vote which had defeated the Reform Bill as a whisper. But the extravagance of the expression was not its worst fault. The Opposition denounced the ministers who had expressed their satisfaction at being praised by a meeting pledged to resist the payment of taxes; and a new cause

The prorogation.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. viii. pp. 395, 399.

[2] By 329 votes to 198 (*Hansard*, vol. viii. p. 465).

[3] *Corresp. of Earl Grey and William IV.*, vol. i. p. 375, note; and cf. Spencer, p. 360.

was added to the many causes which were producing the prevailing excitement.[1]

In the midst of this excitement, and the angry feelings which it generated, Parliament was prorogued. The Reformers, during the short recess, endeavoured to strengthen their position in the country. The mass meeting at Birmingham had taught them the advantage of organisation; and Reformers in other places consequently endeavoured to imitate the example which had been set them by Attwood in the Midland counties. A meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in London on the 31st of October, at which it was decided to form a National Political Union, with its head in the metropolis and affiliated societies in the provinces. The Union was to pledge itself to support the Government and to aid the Reform Bill; but its management soon passed into the hands of extreme men, indisposed to accept the comparatively moderate terms of the ministerial measure. Burdett, "overborne by his more violent associates,"[2] who were intent on obtaining universal suffrage, withdrew from the society; and the working classes, left to their own guidance, organised a monster meeting in the metropolis for the 7th of November. It was known that the members of the Union were providing themselves with staves and bludgeons; it was reported on high authority that a contract had been made for the supply of arms to them;[3] and both the king at Brighton and the upper classes in the metropolis were seriously alarmed at the prospect of riot and disorder. On the remonstrance of the magistrates, and at the advice of Melbourne, the organisers of the metropolitan meeting were induced to abandon their intention of holding it. But the alarm which its announcement had occasioned was so general that the ministry felt compelled to interfere. A proclamation was issued on the 22nd of November declaring that "associations composed of separate bodies, with various divisions

The Unions.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. viii. pp. 589–646. *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Hist., p. 282. Spencer, p. 362. Greville, vol. ii. p. 206.

[2] Spencer, p. 366, note.

[3] *Grey's Corresp. with William IV.*, vol. i. p. 414.

and subdivisions, under leaders with a gradation of ranks and authority, were unconstitutional and illegal." The proclamation did little good. The National Political Union declared that it did not come within the words of the proclamation. The Birmingham Political Union continued its proceedings. The English proved, as the Irish had shown four years before, that no ministerial measures are capable of defeating the organisation of a determined people.[1]

Yet the condition of the country fully justified the general alarm. The news of the defeat of the Reform Bill was everywhere followed by riot. Nottingham Castle was burned down because it was the property of Newcastle. The house of Mr. Musters, a Tory squire of the neighbourhood, was set on fire by the mob; and his unfortunate wife, flying into the shrubbery, died from the effects of her exposure to the cold on a raw October night. Londonderry, riding through London, was knocked off his horse by the mob and seriously injured. These things, formidable as they were, were only the prelude to greater scenes of violence. No member of the House of Commons had been more persistent or plainspoken in his opposition to the Reform Bill than Wetherell, the hot-headed lawyer who had been Attorney-General under Wellington. Throughout the long discussions in committee Wetherell had lost no opportunity of resisting the Government and of delaying the progress of the measure. On the 13th of October he moved an address to the Crown for a Special Commission for the trial of the rioters who had burned Nottingham Castle. The motion was rejected, but its proposal increased his unpopularity. It so happened that Wetherell was Recorder of Bristol. The duties of his office required his presence in that town at the end of October, and usage was in favour of his making a public entry into the city on the occasion. Some time before the date of the assize the sheriff and one of the aldermen of Bristol waited on him and told him that it would not be safe for him to make a public entry into the town without the protection of a larger force

Wetherell

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Hist., p. 296, Chron., p. 170.

than the civil authorities had at their disposal. Wetherell sent his informants to the Home Office. Melbourne and his colleagues refused to take upon themselves the responsibility of stopping the assize, and it was consequently determined that everything should go on as usual.[1]

Wetherell made his entry into Bristol on Saturday, the 29th of October. His carriage was surrounded by constables and escorted by 300 or 400 mounted gentlemen. The mob increased in numbers as the vehicle proceeded through the streets. Wetherell was assailed with hisses and yells, while stones were occasionally thrown at him. Amidst disturbances of this character the Recorder reached the Guildhall. The mayor's clerk attempted to read the commission, but the uproar was so great that he could not make himself heard. The court was adjourned till the Monday morning; the Recorder retired from the bench; and the mob, cheering lustily for the king, withdrew into the street.

opens the assize at Bristol.

In the meanwhile the mob had been collecting in continually increasing numbers around the Mansion-House. The special constables sworn in to preserve order advanced to arrest some of the rioters who had made themselves conspicuous by throwing stones at the Recorder's carriage. Two persons were taken and removed in custody into the Mansion-House. The mob, irritated at these arrests, displayed an increasing disposition to violence. They armed themselves with sticks; they engaged in desultory contests with the constables; and their numbers continually became greater. The special constables, without food or rest, grew wearied with their incessant exertions. At four o'clock in the afternoon a considerable portion of them was allowed to go away for refreshment. Their departure was the signal for greater activity among the rioters. It was in vain that the mayor came forward to warn the people of the consequences of their proceedings. It was in vain that the Riot Act was read. These measures only taught the mob their own power

The Bristol riots.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. ix. p. 59. Torrens, in his *Life of Melbourne*, has no original information on the subject.

and the weakness of the authorities. The Mansion-House was attacked. Doors and windows were smashed to pieces. The mob, entering the building, broke up the furniture and made preparations for firing the edifice. Happily for Wetherell, he succeeded in making his escape into other premises and in leaving the city. Happily, too, Colonel Brereton, with a body of cavalry, arrived on the scene. The troops were received with cheers by the people. They remained in the neighbourhood throughout the night. In the course of it they made one charge, in which one man was killed and several others were wounded. Passing and repassing through the streets, they effectually prevented the reassembly of the mob.

Soldiers, however, are only men. Man and horse required rest and refreshment; and, as the morning broke on the devoted city, Brereton withdrew his men from their duties. Their withdrawal was the immediate signal for the reassembly of the mob; the Mansion-House was sacked; its contents thrown into the square; and the people, penetrating into the cellars, seized and drank the wine which was stored in them. Infuriated by the liquor, the mob was no longer satisfied with acting on the defensive. The cavalry reappeared, and was attacked by the crowd. Brereton, afraid of acting, withdrew his men. Their retreat was the signal for a new attack upon them. The soldiers fired in their own defence upon the mob. Brereton, dreading the responsibility cast upon him, promised the mob that there should be no more firing, and led the 14th Dragoons out of the city. The slender force at the disposal of the authorities was thus dangerously weakened at a most critical period.

A few soldiers belonging to the 3rd Dragoons were still drawn up before the Mansion-House. The mob showed no disposition to attack them. A party of the rioters, however, proceeded to the Bridewell, beat in the doors, liberated the prisoners, and set the building on fire. Gaining confidence with success, they turned to the new gaol, released the prisoners, and fired the building. Another body of the rioters marched to the Bishop's Palace and attacked it. The news of

the attack induced the authorities to withdraw the few troops who still held the mob in check. The troops who were thus withdrawn were not able to save the Bishop's Palace from the flames. But their withdrawal was the signal for the firing of the Mansion-House. Restless spirits, revelling in the work of destruction, wilfully set fire to the adjacent buildings; and, as the night wore on, the flames streamed up higher and higher into the heavens, while the crackle of the fire, mingling with the roar of the crowd, made men fancy that they were gazing on a scene in the "Inferno."[1]

The authorities could no longer close their eyes to the character of the riot. A large portion of the city was in flames; and the lowest of the population were extending the conflagration and pillaging the houses which they successively fired. The magistrates, hastily meeting, decided on adopting extreme measures for the restoration of order. The *posse comitatus* was called out; the troops which had been withdrawn from the city were hastily recalled. Major Mackworth, the aide-de-camp to Lord Hill, placed himself at their head. The men were employed to clear the streets, and Mackworth ordered them to charge, and to charge home. This vigorous measure succeeded. The mob gave way before the soldiers when they found that their arms were to be used in earnest, and scattered in every direction. The conflagration which the rioters had kindled was gradually extinguished. Some of the leading rioters were arrested by the military and the special constables, and order was restored. But the restoration of order could neither efface the recollection of the three days of riot nor restore the property which had been destroyed and the buildings which had been burned. A Special Commission, sent down to Bristol, condemned some of the people who had been most active in the riot to death. Brereton, brought before a court-martial for misconduct, destroyed himself; and the whole nation shuddered at a story which recalled the disturbances which Lord George

[1] See Kingsley's account of this in his Life, vol. i. p. 21. Kingsley was at school at Clifton at the time.

Gordon's fanaticism had provoked, or which, more recently, had deluged the metropolis of France with the blood of its citizens.[1]

Riot at Bristol was succeeded by disturbance at other places. The whole country was agitated by the storm in politics; and the seething populace, daily acquiring fresh evidence of its own power, appeared ready to burst the bonds of discipline, and to spread ruin over the land. Property trembled at the power of the people; and the people, it so happened, were also trembling at another danger. News had reached England, during the previous year, that a new disease—a sort of plague—was raging in Russia. Russian vessels were placed under a precautionary quarantine, and little or nothing more was thought of the matter. In the course of 1831 accounts arrived of the serious ravages which the disease had made in Russia, and of its appearance at Riga, a Baltic port largely frequented by British shipping. The spread of the plague—the "cholera," as it was now called—seemed so serious that the king was advised to refer to its progress in the speech from the throne; and fresh measures of precaution were taken by the Government.[2]

The cholera.

The position of the Government, however, in the matter was not an easy one. If it failed to take effectual precautions against the cholera, it laid itself open to the charge of indifference to the health of the people. If, on the contrary, it took them, it ran the risk of interfering with the operations of trade. The doctors, who cared nothing for commerce, naturally insisted on the adoption of every possible precaution. The ministry, unable to feel equal indifference to trade, hesitated to adopt remedies which would have been ruinous to the commercial classes. A Board of Health was formed. But its formation only increased the alarm of the public. News reached England in June that Diebitsch, the hero of 1829, had died of the cholera. In July a report was brought that

[1] An account of the riots will be found in *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Hist., p. 291; and Chron., p. 171. The trials of the rioters in ibid., 1832, Chron., p. 2. Colonel Brereton's suicide, ibid., p. 14.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. iv. p. 86. Greville, vol. ii. pp. 57, 150.

it had broken out at St. Petersburg. In September it appeared at Berlin; and in November a case occurred at Sunderland. In February 1832 it reached London; and, during the whole of that year, it broke out with more or less violence in different parts of the country. Upwards of 50,000 persons are said to have died of it.[1]

Disease increased the alarm which disturbance had excited. People were too frightened to reflect that the disturbances were due to the attempt of a minority to withstand the demands of the majority, and that the cholera was attributable to causes which were equally plain. Always present in Asia, it had been brought into Europe by the Russian armies, which had come into contact with it in Armenia. It found in Europe many conditions for its extension. The disease is nourished by dirt, intensified by want, and becomes more deadly as it spreads; and unfortunately the disregard of every sanitary law was favourable for the spread of a plague of this character. In Sunderland, where it first appeared, there were houses with one hundred and fifty inmates, in the lowest state of poverty, huddled five and six in a bed. In Bethnal Green, where the disorder made great ravages, the population was in abject poverty; but the Local Board of Health, hastily summoned to battle with the disorder, met at a public-house, drank themselves drunk, and did nothing.[2]

The causes which assisted its progress.

The plague was nourished by dirt and want; it would have disappeared before cleanliness and plenty. Eighteen years afterwards, a learned dignitary of the Church had the good sense, during an outbreak of the same disease, to preach upon the text, "Wash and be clean." A little more than twenty years afterwards, a Home Secretary told the Presbytery of Edinburgh that the spread of disease depended upon the observance of the laws of health; and that it was consequently a much wiser thing to cleanse themselves than to fast.[3] The

[1] For the estimate, see *Encycl. Brit.*, ad verb. "Cholera." Greville's *Diary*, vol. ii. pp. 156, 161, 193, 208, 240, 258, contains a good record of the progress of the disease.

[2] Greville, vol. ii. pp. 210, 259.

[3] Buckle's *Civilisation*, vol. iii. p. 476.

undoubted truths which at a later date were thus enforced from the pulpit and the Home Office would not have commanded general acceptance in 1831. A large part of the nation concluded that the political troubles in which the country was involved, and the pestilence which was approaching its shores, were attributable to the direct interference of an offended Deity. The apprehensions which were everywhere prevalent gained possession of men's minds, and favoured the growth of a new superstition. For some years previously, a Scotch clergyman—Edward Irving—had been attracting large congregations in London. His admirers had built him a new church; and the opinions which he published, and which he promulgated from the pulpit, had drawn down upon him the wrath of the London Presbytery. The persecution of the Presbytery only increased the extravagance of Irving. On the second Sunday of October 1831 he preached, both in the morning and in the evening, on the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit. In the morning, a lady who was forced to retire into the vestry, was seized with an uncontrollable desire to speak in "the unknown tongue." In the evening, a gentleman, who was permitted to remain in the church, delivered an address in the unknown tongue. On the following Sunday, Irving again referred to the matter in his pulpit, and declared that the persons speaking in the unknown tongues were commissioned to announce the immediate coming of the Lord. The unknown tongues had, at any rate, the effect of filling Irving's church. Crowded, excited, and occasionally riotous congregations attended every Sunday, to listen to Irving's full-toned eloquence, and to hear the unintelligible warnings of the unknown tongue.[1]

The superstitions of the populace.

Irving.

The extraordinary delusion which affected some of Irving's followers was entertained by men in high positions in Parliament. The House of Commons was invited to believe that the curse of God was on the land, and that nothing but humiliation and fasting could avert the pestilence.[2] The

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Chron., p. 187; and cf. Greville, vol. iii. p. 41.
[2] *Hansard*, vol. ix. p. 895; vol. xi. p. 577.

ministry itself was compelled to defer to the pressure which the superstitions of the multitude brought to bear upon it; and, after appointing a special form of prayer in the beginning of November 1831, to set apart a day in March 1832 for humiliation and fasting.[1] A great many people seriously thought that fasting and humiliation were the only means by which the plague could be arrested, and that there was presumption in even speculating about the origin of a disease which was obviously sent by the Almighty.[2] Unluckily, the rules which the Privy Council adopted for preventing the spread of sickness were so harsh that they made the remedies of man appear intolerable. The Privy Council contemplated the isolation of every house which was attacked by the cholera; and ventured on hinting the possibility of drawing a military cordon around infected districts. Unhappily, moreover, the manner in which some of these regulations were carried out increased the animosity of the people. The mob believed that the bodies of the unfortunate persons who died of the plague, instead of receiving separate burial, were reserved for the dissecting-room. The rumour received some confirmation at Paisley, where many of the coffins of the so-called patients were discovered to be empty; and the people, furious at the discovery, attacked the hospital, broke the windows of the surgeons' houses, and committed other damage.[3] The suspicion which was thus cast on the remedies of the civil authorities necessarily strengthened the position of the superstitious few who endeavoured to persuade the people that the plague could only be stayed by the direct intervention of the Deity. If it were once made obvious that human remedies were too harsh to be practicable, it was natural for a people frightened out of their senses to fold their hands; and, adhering to their filthy habits, to throw themselves on the mercy of an omnipotent God.[4]

A general fast appointed.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Chron., p. 181. Ibid., 1832, Chron., p. 40.

[2] See a remarkable letter in corresp. of Mrs. Grant, vol. iii. pp. 216, 217, quoted by Buckle, vol. i. p. 128, note.

[3] *Ann. Reg.*, 1832, Chron., p. 44. Cf. Greville, vol. ii. p. 216.

[4] "Body-snatching" was a crime held at that time in peculiar detestation

The country had, perhaps, never been afflicted with so many troubles. Trade was stagnant, agriculture depressed, labour unemployed, capital idle. The working classes were organised for political purposes. The smouldering ruins at Bristol were visible witnesses of the passions which had provoked their organisation. A fatal disease was silently approaching the shores of Britain. Superstition, encouraged by disturbance and sickness, was threatening the land with the vengeance of its God. The horizon on all sides was overcast with clouds, and the gloom was not relieved by the slightest ray of hope. During the whole of the short Parliamentary recess men brooded over the prospects of the coming session. Parliament, which had been prorogued on the 20th of October, met again on the 6th of December. Six days afterwards, or on Monday, the 12th, Russell introduced the third Reform Bill. The third Reform Bill was constructed on different principles from either of its predecessors. It was determined to disfranchise wholly fifty-six boroughs, returning 111 members; it was decided to deprive thirty other boroughs of half of their representatives. The boroughs which were marked for disfranchisement were selected on a new principle. Regard was paid to the population of the smaller towns, the number of houses in them, and the amount which they

The third Reform Bill.

by the lower orders. The medical profession was, not unreasonably, held responsible for it; an open readiness to purchase "subjects," without any very careful inquiry as to their origin, justified in some degree the rage of the lower orders. It must be recollected that the horrible crimes for which Burke was executed in 1829, and which received a new name from the murderer, had been recently perpetrated. Peel had wisely endeavoured to prevent the repetition of such atrocities by providing the anatomists with a supply of subjects. (*Hansard*, vol. xx. p. 1003.) But the supply which was thus provided proved very insufficient. Only eleven bodies were legally available in 1831 for 800 students, who succeeded, notwithstanding the law, in obtaining 900 subjects. Subjects rose in price from £2 to £10. Body-snatching continued a profitable trade. Renewed attention was drawn to the matter by some horrible murders, of the same sort as Burke's, committed in London in November 1831.—*Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Chron., pp. 316-335; and cf. Greville, vol. ii. p. 227. A new bill was introduced on the subject in the session of 1831-32.—*Hansard*, Third Series, vol. ix. p. 578. It is not impossible that the Paisley resurrectionists may have disinterred some of the bodies of the cholera patients. One of the old resurrectionists is, or was very recently, still living in London.

respectively paid in assessed taxes. From these various sources the list of the condemned boroughs was prepared. The change of method, however, made no material difference in Schedule A. One or two boroughs escaped disfranchisement; one or two others were added to the list; but Schedule A. for all practical purposes was unaffected. A material difference, however, was made in Schedule B. In the first bill forty-six boroughs had been included in this schedule. In the second bill forty boroughs, which were subsequently increased to forty-one, were named in it. But in the third bill only thirty boroughs were selected for partial disfranchisement. The milder measure of disfranchisement was possible, because, in another respect, the ministry had modified its original scheme. In the former bills it had contemplated a considerable reduction in the number of the House of Commons. In the bill of December it preserved the number of 658 members which had composed it since the Irish Union. This decision enabled the Cabinet not merely to save a few boroughs from disfranchisement, but also to enfranchise a greater number of thriving towns. The former process pacified the feelings of the Opposition; the latter undoubtedly increased the efficiency of the measure.[1]

The bill which was thus introduced was at once read a first time. It passed its second reading after two nights' debate on the Friday following by a majority of exactly two to one.[2] The House, having made this satisfactory progress with the measure, adjourned for the Christmas holidays till the 17th of January. After the recess twenty-two nights' work enabled the Government to carry the bill through committee. On the 22nd of March it was read a third time;[3] and finally, on the 23rd of March, it passed the House of Commons without a division.[4]

It passes the House of Commons.

One branch of the Legislature had given a convincing proof of its desire for Reform; but no one had ever questioned the

[1] For Russell's speech, see *Hansard*, vol. ix. p. 156. Cf. also *Recollections and Suggestions*, p. 87.

[2] By 324 votes to 162 (*Hansard*, vol. ix. p. 546).

[3] By 355 votes to 239 (ibid., vol. xi. p. 780).

[4] Ibid., p. 857.

fidelity of the House of Commons to the cause of the people. The second Reform Bill had been lost through the action of the peers, and there was no reason to suppose that the peers had modified their views on the subject. There was, however, one way by which the House of Lords could be controlled. The king had the undoubted right to create any number of peers; and a majority could, of course, be converted into a minority by the process. In the beginning of September 1831 Brougham had desired to adopt this remedy.[1] His advice had been supported by Durham[2] and Graham,[3] who had persistently urged it on their colleagues. The king, however, had the strongest possible objection to the suggestion.[4] Grey was himself opposed to it;[5] and Althorp shared Grey's objections to any large creation of peers.[6] The reluctance of Grey and Althorp to swamp the peerage by a considerable addition to its numbers induced the moderate members of the Cabinet to try to effect a compromise with a portion of the Opposition. There were two sections of the Opposition who, for different reasons, seemed capable of conversion. In the first place, the Bishops had, almost without exception, voted against the former bill, and the king thought that his influence might induce them to modify their views. In the next place, a few Tory peers, of whom Lord Harrowby and Lord Wharncliffe were the most prominent, were profoundly impressed with the dangers inseparable from the unconditional rejection of the bill, and sincerely anxious to conclude a compromise upon it.

The Bishops and the Waverers.

The negotiations which were attempted with these objects were not, however, successful. The king failed to extract a promise of support from the Bishops, and the demands of the Waverers, as the moderate peers were termed, proved inadmissible.[7] These failures natu-

[1] Brougham's *Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 125.
[2] Spencer, p. 369.
[3] Ibid., p. 370.
[4] *Corresp. of Earl Grey and William IV.*, vol. i. p. 363.
[5] Ibid., p. 366.
[6] Spencer, p. 371.
[7] These negotiations are detailed in the *Corresp. of Earl Grey with William IV.*, vol. i. p. 437; and Appendix B., p. 464. See also vol. ii. pp. 2–21, and pp. 38, 56. Greville, vol. ii. p. 211, gives a detailed account of the negotiation.

rally strengthened the hands of the small party in the Cabinet who desired to secure the success of the bill by an unlimited creation of peers. Grey's firm refusal to yield to their wishes led to a violent attack upon him by Durham, his own son-in-law. Durham's language was so "brutal"[1] that his colleagues expected his immediate resignation, and the possible dissolution of the Government.

Durham's brutal attack had not, however, removed the chief difficulty. Brougham declared that the failure of the ministry to make peers was interpreted by the Tories to mean that the king declined to create them; and he suggested that this belief should be removed by twelve or fifteen creations, and by the promise of the king to sanction further creations if they were necessary.[2] The Cabinet assented. The king was induced to give a reluctant consent, on the condition that the new peerages should be conferred, with few exceptions, on the heirs of existing peers;[3] and he was ultimately prevailed upon to withdraw his stipulation that the new creations should not exceed twenty-one in number. Rumours of this arrangement were soon heard. The Waverers, in consequence of them, showed an increasing disposition to arrange terms with the Government. Harrowby and Wharncliffe again distinguished themselves by the moderation of their views, and by their desire to conclude some compromise acceptable to all parties. Greville, whose position at the Council Office had secured him the friendship of all parties, exerted himself to mediate between them. An arrangement was at last concluded by which a majority for the second reading of the bill was secured, on condition that no new peerages should be created. Harrowby and Wharncliffe were able to assure Grey that a sufficient number of votes could be obtained for the second reading of the bill on this understanding.[4]

The king assents to the creation of peers.

1 Althorp's expression (Spencer, p. 375). Cf. Greville, vol. ii. p. 226, where Melbourne is reported to have said, "If I had been Lord Grey, I would have knocked him down."

2 Brougham, vol. iii. p. 151.

3 *Corresp. of Earl Grey and William IV.*, vol. ii. pp. 77, 128.

4 This negotiation is best related in Greville, vol. ii. pp. 237–263.

The bill was introduced in the House of Lords on the 26th of March. The Waverers publicly avowed their intention of supporting it. Wellington formally declared that his own opinions were unchanged; and the bill was read a first time without a division.[1] The debate on the second reading, which commenced on the 9th of April, lasted over four nights. The sun had risen on the morning of the 14th when the Lords pronounced their decision on the principle of the measure. But the division list afforded a decisive proof of the change which had been effected in the views of the peers. Seventeen peers who had voted against the bill of 1831 voted for the bill of 1832. Ten who had voted against the bill of 1831 stayed away from the division in 1832; and twelve others who had been absent in 1831 supported the measure of 1832. These defections from the ranks of the Opposition decided the fate of the measure. The bill of 1831 had been lost by a majority of 41; the second reading of the bill of 1832 was carried by a majority of nine.[2]

The second reading of the Bill carried.

The news of the great division was everywhere received with satisfaction. Reform had evidently made considerable progress, and its ultimate success was becoming more assured. But the satisfaction with which the decision of the Lords was regarded was not shared by the ministry. The majority by which the second reading of the bill had been carried was only small, and no reliance could be placed on the future votes of those who had composed it. The ministry, in short, could have no chance of carrying the measure in its further stages without creating new peers, and the peerage question presented unexpected difficulties. The king's feelings respecting the Reform Bill had gradually undergone a remarkable change. In the beginning of 1831 he had given a zealous support to his ministers; and his support was the support of a man who thoroughly understood the bill, and whose voice had been heard in the arrangement of its details. In March

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xi. p. 870.

[2] An analysis of the division will be found in *Ann. Reg.*, 1832, Hist., p. 146. Three peers, absent in 1831, voted against the bill of 1832.

1831 he had been reluctantly induced to face the possible risks of a dissolution and to appeal to the country. But the necessity for a dissolution moderated the king's ardour. His zeal cooled in exact proportion to the growing warmth of the country. He protested against the demonstrations with which the dissolution was received; he protested against the language used by Liberal newspapers; he dreaded the consequences of a prolonged struggle between the two Houses of Parliament; he objected to the decision of his ministers to adhere to the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill; and he over and over again urged upon them the desirability of compromise. The organisation of the country in Political Unions, the disturbances which followed the rejection of the second Reform Bill, and the Bristol riots, increased the genuine alarm which the king felt; while his fears were concurrently excited by the visible spread of revolution abroad, and by the disposition which, he fancied, was displayed by his Government to unite with France in support of Liberal principles.[1] He hailed the second reading of the Reform Bill with satisfaction, because it relieved him from the necessity of immediately redeeming his pledge to sanction the creation of an unlimited number of peers. While nominally continuing to repose unabated confidence in his advisers, his manner towards them underwent so remarkable an alteration that it led to their formal remonstrance; and the Tory papers were induced to declare that the king was pledged to nothing beyond the second reading of the bill, and that he was entirely indifferent as to any alteration which might be made in it in committee.[2]

The king's growing dislike of the Reform Bill.

[1] The king's gradual coolness on Reform may be traced in his correspondence with Grey, vol. i. pp. 96, 158, 219, 243, 248, 380, 394. The foreign policy of Grey's Government cannot be dealt with in this volume. The king's fears respecting it were so strong that he desired that no instruction should be sent to his ministers abroad which "has not obtained his previous concurrence."—Ibid., vol. ii. p. 355. This order induced Grey to tender his resignation, if the king's confidence were withdrawn.—Ibid., p. 365. The king's letter was written within sixty hours of the passage of the second reading of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords, and the Grey ministry was nearly wrecked on a side-issue.

[2] Ibid., p. 374.

These reports, industriously circulated in every quarter, naturally increased the embarrassment of the ministry. Parliament, which had separated for the Easter recess, did not reassemble till the 7th of May. On that evening Lyndhurst moved the postponement of the clause disfranchising the boroughs enumerated in Schedule A. The motion was carried against the Government by 151 votes to 116; and Grey at once deferred the further consideration of the measure. The Cabinet met on the morning of the 8th, and decided on "the expediency of advancing to the honour of the peerage such a number of persons as might ensure the success of the bill in all its essential principles." The king was verbally assured by Grey and Brougham, who were charged with the duty of laying the decision of the Cabinet before him, that at least fifty fresh peerages would be required.[1] The king, after a day's consideration, declined to act on the advice of his ministers, and accepted their resignations. On the same day he sent for Lyndhurst, with a view to the formation of a new Administration.

The disfranchisement clause postponed.

Lyndhurst was sitting in the Court of Exchequer when the king's commands for his attendance were brought to him. He found the king desirous of carrying a measure of Reform, but terrified at the extreme counsels of his Whig ministry. Lyndhurst recommended him to form an Administration prepared to carry a moderate Reform Bill, and undertook himself to conduct a negotiation with this object. Charged with the king's commands, Lynd-

The resignation of the Grey ministry.

[1] *Corresp. of Earl Grey with William IV.*, vol. ii. pp. 395, 415. Greville, who was evidently informed of everything that took place, says that they recommended fifty new peers (vol. ii. p. 294). Brougham (vol. iii. p. 193), who ought to have known, says sixty or eighty. Among outsiders a smaller number was supposed to be sufficient.

> "What though now opposed I be?
> Twenty peers shall carry me.
> If twenty won't, thirty will,
> For I'm his Majesty's bouncing Bill,'

wrote Macaulay. See Lady Trevelyan's diary of March 15, 1832, in Trevelyan's *Macaulay*, vol. i. p. 191.

hurst at once applied to Wellington. Wellington was more opposed to Reform than any other statesman. But Wellington's political conduct was uniformly governed by two considerations. He always considered what was practicable; he always tried to ascertain what was due to his sovereign. It was no longer practicable, in 1832, to defend the uncompromising position which he had taken in 1830. Reform was necessary; and a mild dose, prescribed by the Tories, seemed preferable to the strong purge recommended by their opponents. Successful with Wellington, Lyndhurst turned to Peel.[1] But Peel scornfully rejected the notion that he should personally carry the measure which he had spent day and night for a year and a half in opposing. Peel's refusal, either to take the highest office or any office, was the first rebuff which Lyndhurst received. Peel's example was at once imitated by Goulburn and Croker; and these successive refusals made the formation of a Tory Government hopeless. Alexander Baring, indeed, the member for Callington, a gentleman of some experience in commercial pursuits, undertook to perform the duties of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Manners Sutton, the Speaker, promised to lead the House of Commons and to be Secretary of State.[2] Experienced politicians, blinded by their own prejudices, imagined that a Government in a minority in the House of Commons—with no first-rate, and even no second-rate, men to defend it in that House—had a chance of moderating the passionate hurricane which was raging in the land.

The men, however, who reposed in a fancied security amidst the strife around them were soon subjected to a rude awakening. On the 9th of May, Grey and Althorp announced the resignation of the Whig ministry. During a similar crisis in the previous autumn Ebrington had come forward and proposed a vote of confidence in the Administration. On the 10th of May, Ebrington again proposed an

Ebrington's motion.

[1] Campbell says, inaccurately, that Lyndhurst applied to Peel first (*Chancellors*, vol. viii. p. 83). Greville gives the true version (vol. ii. p. 294).

[2] Roebuck, vol. ii. p. 287. Cf., however, Greville, vol. ii. pp. 299, 300.

address to the Crown of confidence in the Government. The House, on the same evening, adopted the address by a majority of 80.[1] This decision naturally increased the difficulties of the Tory gentlemen who were endeavouring to form a new Administration. They could no longer affect to be ignorant of the opposition of the House of Commons. But the decision of the House of Commons formed only one element of danger. On the same evening a petition was presented from the City of London praying the House to stop the supplies. On the 11th a similar petition was presented from Manchester. It was notorious that petitions with the same object were being prepared in every large town. Lord Milton openly admitted that he had desired the tax-gatherer to call again, as he might find it necessary to refuse payment. Men, in their passionate excitement, hastily concluded that a commercial crisis would be preferable to the fall of the Grey ministry. A run upon the Bank of England, it was thought, might increase the difficulties of the situation and embarrass the Tory Government. "Go for gold, and stop the Duke," was the advice which was placarded on every bare wall in the metropolis.[2]

Every moment was increasing the difficulties of the Duke. On Monday, the 14th of May, his difficulties became insuperable. A petition was presented to the House of Commons praying that the supplies might be refused till the Reform Bill had become law. A violent debate ensued. The Duke's inconsistency in accepting office was criticised by Duncombe on one side of the House, and by Inglis on the other. Every thrust was received with cheers and counter-cheers; and the overcrowded House, in a state of uncontrolled excitement, presented a scene of unparalleled violence. Baring spoke again and again, but proved unequal to the task of moderating the assembly. Appalled at the tempest which they had provoked, Sutton and Baring repaired to Wellington to tell him that their situation was

The recall of Lord Grey.

[1] 288 votes to 208. See *Hansard*, vol. xii. p. 864.

[2] Roebuck, vol. ii. p. 292.

impracticable. On the following morning the Duke waited on the king and advised the recall of Grey.[1]

The king had no alternative but to adopt the advice which the Duke thus gave him. But he still shrank from the expedient, which the Whig ministry had pressed on him, of an unlimited creation of peers. He suggested to Grey that his old ministers might return to office; that some modifications might be made in the bill; and that the measure might then be passed with the assistance of the Tory party. Grey replied that the events which had taken place had made modifications much more difficult, and that ministers could not resume office "except with a sufficient security that they will possess the power of passing the present bill unimpaired in its principles and its essential provisions, and as nearly as possible in its present form."[2] This security, the ministry decided, could only be obtained in two ways. The adversaries of the bill might cease from opposing it, or their opposition might be overcome. The former alternative appeared impracticable; the latter pointed to a large creation of peers. The king, still clinging to the hope that an addition to the peerage might be avoided, instructed his secretary, Sir Herbert Taylor, to inform Wellington that all difficulties would be removed by "a declaration in the House of Lords from a sufficient number of peers that they have come to the resolution of dropping their further opposition to the Reform Bill."[3] Wellington, as usual, obeyed the king's commands. He withdrew from the House, and he was accompanied, in withdrawing from it, by Lyndhurst and other peers. But the seceders prefaced their withdrawal by speeches of extreme violence, and tacitly reserved to themselves the liberty of returning and of resuming their opposition to the bill. This conduct increased the embarrassment of the ministry. The Cabinet, meeting the next day, decided that its continuance in office must depend on their receiving "full and indisputable security" "for ensuring the speedy

[1] Greville, vol. ii. p. 299. Spencer, p. 432. Russell's *Recollections and Suggestions*, p. 105.

[2] *Corresp. of Earl Grey and William IV.*, vol. ii. pp. 406, 410.

[3] Ibid., p. 420.

settlement of the Reform Bill." The king, finding that he had no alternative but submission, gave the requisite authority. The Cabinet was empowered, if it should be necessary to do so, to create an unlimited number of peers, provided that the eldest sons of peers or the collateral heirs of childless noblemen were first summoned to the House of Lords.[1]

The Reform Bill carried.

The king's letter had, however, done its work. Wellington and other peers, obeying his Majesty's hint, abstained from taking any further part in the discussions on the Reform Bill. The Opposition was, of course, paralysed by the abstention of its leaders. The measure, freed from any serious attack upon it, made rapid progress. It passed through committee at the end of May; it was read a third time on the 4th of June. The House of Commons immediately afterwards assented to the slight amendments which had been introduced in the Lords; and on the 7th of June the royal assent to the measure was given by commission.

Thus the controversy had been concluded; thus the victory had been won. The people and the House of Commons had triumphed over the scruples of the king and the opposition of the peerage. The old electoral system, founded on monopoly and corruption, had been destroyed; and a new system, erected on the broad foundations of popular support, had been substituted for it. Though, however, the abuses of the old rule had been terminated, the expediency of the new rule was still unproved. The men who had demanded Parliamentary reform had desired it as a means to an end. The means had been obtained; the end had still to be secured. The harvest was ripe for the sickle: but the thick clouds which still obscured the political horizon at home and abroad dismayed the boldest politicians. Risings in France; revolutions in Poland; civil war in Portugal; Austrian and French interference in Italy and Spain; disputes, threatening European complications in the Netherlands; rebellion, threatening the disruption of the Ottoman

[1] *Corresp. of Earl Grey and William IV.*, vol. ii. pp. 424, 435. Cf. Brougham, vol. iii. p. 199; and Greville, vol. ii. p. 303.

Empire in the East—these and other things were concurrently menacing the peace of the world. Disturbances in Ireland; riots in the provinces; the organisation of the working classes; a stagnant trade; an inelastic revenue; an overstocked labour market; a pauperised population—these were the causes which were portending trouble at home. The cholera was striking down its helpless victims in every village; fanatical preachers were exciting the superstitious feelings of a frightened people; political agitators were bestirring them to action; the king had lost his popularity from his faint-hearted support of his ministry; the old ruling classes were regarded with detestation for opposing the wishes of the people; numbers were arrayed against property; property was distrustful of numbers; the old machinery of Government had been abolished; a new machinery, which no one had ever tried, had been substituted for it; and men gloomily asked each other where the revolution which had already begun was to end.

The end was already approaching. King and queen sat sullenly apart in their palace. Peer and country gentleman moodily awaited the ruin of their country and the destruction of their property. Fanaticism still raved at the wickedness of a people; the people, clamouring for work, still succumbed before the mysterious disease which was continually claiming more and more victims. But the nation cared not for the sullenness of the court, the forebodings of the landed classes, the ravings of the pulpit, or even the mysterious operations of a new plague. The deep gloom which had overshadowed the land had been relieved by one single ray. The victory had been won. The bill had become law.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONDITION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1832.

Summary of the preceding chapters.

THE passage of the first Reform Act marks the conclusion of the important period of British history which commenced with the peace of 1815. Throughout the whole of it a struggle, whose leading incidents have been related in the previous chapters of this work, had been carried on between the friends of Reform on one side and its opponents on the other. During the years which immediately succeeded Waterloo, the latter retained the advantageous position which they had previously gained. The domestic policy of Britain was conducted by statesmen whose political opinions were founded on the system which Pitt had pursued during the declining years of his administration. The foreign policy of Britain was based on the principles which Madame Krudener had suggested and which Alexander had adopted. But the opponents of Reform, though they retained the positions which they occupied, found it necessary to strengthen the fortifications by which they were held; and the new outworks which they succeeded in establishing proved a fresh and insufferable menace to their opponents. Autocratic measures, barely tolerable before, became intolerable after the passing of the Six Acts. A younger generation, educated in a freer atmosphere, defended with reluctance the institutions which their fathers had supported with enthusiasm; and the Reformers, deriving assurance from the hesitation of their opponents, renewed their attacks on the untenable position in which the hottest of the Tories had entrenched themselves.

In relating the history of the struggle which thus occurred, it was necessary to confine the narrative to the leading inci-

dents in the contest. "Les grands événements et les grands hommes sont les points fixes et les sommets de l'histoire ; c'est de là qu'on peut la considérer dans son ensemble, et la suivre dans ses grandes voies."[1] But the painter, who sketches the leading features of a landscape from the hill-top above it, has subsequently to introduce the minor details which give distinctness and character to his picture ; and the writer, who desires to produce a clear description of a nation's progress, must supplement his narrative of the leading incidents in its history with an account of the intellectual and industrial development of its people.

The growth of the people.

The people of the United Kingdom multiplied with unprecedented rapidity during the progress of the great war which was concluded at Waterloo. But the growth of the population was not arrested after the peace. In 1816 the United Kingdom is estimated to have contained nineteen millions of persons. In 1831 it was found to possess rather more than twenty-four millions of inhabitants. The population of Great Britain had risen in the interval from some thirteen millions of people to sixteen millions and a half ; the population of Ireland had concurrently increased from some six millions to about seven millions and three-quarters.[2] The population of the two islands had increased with almost equal rapidity. But there was a wide difference between the causes which had led to their development. In Great Britain the additions to the population had been made in the large towns or in the manufacturing counties, and the population of the rural districts had grown with less rapidity, and in some cases had ceased to grow at all.

[1] Guizot's *L'Histoire de la France. Lettre aux Editeurs*, p. iii.

[2] The estimate for 1816 will be found in vol. i. p. 22. The exact numbers in 1831 were :—

England	13,091,005
Wales	806,182
Scotland	2,365,114
Ireland	7,767,401
Army, Navy, &c.	277,017
	24,306,719

In Ireland, on the contrary, the multiplication of the people had been accompanied by the multiplication of small holdings; and the inhabitants of the purely agricultural districts of Connaught[1] had multiplied with greater rapidity than any other section of the community. The result was very striking. In 1831 not quite one-third of the population of Great Britain was dependent on agriculture. In Ireland two persons out of every three were employed, or were supported by those who were employed, in the cultivation of the soil.[2]

The growth of wealth.

In Ireland the dependence of the people on a single industry interfered with the rapid accumulation of wealth; but in Great Britain the prosperity of the population increased with more rapidity than its numbers. At the close of the eighteenth century Pitt estimated the gross incomes of the people (above the wage-earning class) at rather more than £100,000,000 a year.[3] At the close of the great war the incomes on which income-tax was leviable amounted to about £150,000,000.[4] It is not, of course, easy to form any accurate estimate of the wealth of the nation in 1832. The income-tax, the easiest test for such a purpose, was not in force. But it is possible to arrive at some idea of the multiplication of wealth from 1815 to 1832. In 1815 every penny of income-tax yielded rather more than £500,000 a year. In 1843, when the income-tax was reimposed, every penny of the duty yielded

[1] The rate of increase in the population from 1821 to 1831 was, omitting fractions:—

Leinster	9 per cent.
Ulster	14 ,,
Munster	15 ,,
Connaught	21 ,,

[2] The exact numbers were 315 out of every 1000 in Great Britain, and 657 out of every 1000 in Ireland. Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, p. 61. In Great Britain, to put the figures in a still more striking way, there were in 1831 34,250,000 cultivated acres and 1,055,982 agricultural labourers; in Ireland, 14,000,000 acres under cultivation and 1,131,715 agricultural labourers.—*Hansard*, vol. lxxxix. p. 428.

[3] The estimate will be found in many places. See, *inter alia*, *Return of Public Income and Expenditure*, Sess. 1869, pt. ii. p. 424.

[4] *Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue*, 1870, vol. ii. p. 184.

about £800,000.[1] The taxable income of the country had increased in twenty-eight years by 60 per cent. There are good grounds for believing that the growth of wealth from 1832 to 1843 was not more rapid than its growth from 1815 to 1832. On the assumption that riches accumulated at the same rate throughout the whole period, the taxable income of the country must have increased from rather less than £150,000,000 in 1815 to about £200,000,000 in 1832. In 1815, however, all incomes of £50 a year and upwards were subjected to the duty. In 1843 no income of less than £150 a year was taxed. In 1815, moreover, the aggregate value of all the incomes under £150 a year amounted to nearly one-third of the sum charged with duty.[2] Placing it at only one-ninth of the sum, the gross taxable income of the country, according to the system of 1815, must have amounted in 1832 to at least £225,000,000 a year; the wealth of the nation, in other words, must have increased by £75,000,000 a year since the conclusion of the war.[3]

This conclusion may be supported by a good many figures. The value of the real property of the kingdom, which is the least elastic of all kinds of property, rose from £60,000,000 to about £80,000,000 in the interval.[4] The personal property, subject to legacy duty, increased from £28,000,000 in 1815 to 43,000,000 in 1832.[5] The property insured against fire, which was valued at £353,000,000 in 1811, increased in almost the same proportion to £507,000,000 in 1831.[6] These

[1] *Return of Public Income and Expenditure*, Sess. 1869, pt. ii. p. 427.

[2] Such, at any rate, was the case with Schedule D. The figures are given in the *Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue*, 1870, vol. ii. p. 189.

[3] The editor of the *Black Book*, founding his calculations on Dr. Colquhoun's *Treatise on the Resources of the British Empire*, placed the gross income of all classes in 1830 at £296,000,000 a year.—*Black Book*, p. 277. As £90,000,000 of this amount was derived from wages and other non-taxable incomes, the taxable income amounted to £206,000,000. The wages of the labouring population were computed at the same amount—£90,000,000—in a petition to the House of Commons in 1840.—*Hansard*, vol. liv. p. 69.

[4] It rose to £95,000,000 in 1843, and must, therefore, have exceeded £80,000,000 in 1832.—*Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue*, 1870, vol. ii. p. 201.

[5] Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, pp. 500, 501. [6] Ibid., p. 605.

figures, in various ways, corroborate the conclusion that the incomes of the people of Great Britain, above the wage-earning class, increased by about 50 per cent. between 1815 and 1832. Thus the population of Great Britain had grown from about thirteen millions to about sixteen millions and a half, or by rather more than 25 per cent., while the incomes of the people above the rank of a day labourer had increased from £150,000,000 to £225,000,000, or by about 50 per cent. The accumulation of wealth had been twice as rapid as the multiplication of the people.

These figures, important as they are, give only an imperfect idea of the improvement which had taken place in the condition of the people. The incomes of the community were no longer subjected to a deduction of 10 per cent. for the purposes of the Government. The income-tax had been repealed, and the repeal of the income-tax had directly augmented the money at the disposal of the upper and middle classes. The same result had been even more effectually promoted by the return to cash payments. The purchasing value of every pound was increased, and a man living on a fixed income was proportionately richer from the circumstance. In 1815 the incomes of the people, which have been placed in the aggregate at £150,000,000, were subjected to a deduction of £15,000,000 for income-tax. The residue of £135,000,000 was usually worth less than £120,000,000. The increase in the purchasing power of the community between 1815 and 1832 was therefore much greater than the increase in the nominal incomes of the people. The incomes of the people, above the wage-earning class, rose from £150,000,000 to £225,000,000. The purchasing value of the same incomes was increased from £120,000,000 to £225,000,000.

The increase in the purchasing value of each man's income was, of course, expressed by a fall in the price of commodities.

The growth of trade.

Till the concluding years of the eighteenth century the value of the goods, either exported from or imported into Britain, was uniformly computed on a fixed standard which had been arranged a century before. But the

value of many articles of commerce had, of course, been materially altered by the discoveries and inventions of a hundred years; and the official figures, though they continued to afford an unfailing test of the amount of British commerce, no longer furnished any indication of its value. Towards the close of the eighteenth century this defect in the returns attracted attention; and, in consequence, from 1798 downwards, the declared or real value of British exports was added to the statement of their official value. During the continuance of the war the high prices which universally prevailed produced an excess in the real values over the official values, but from the conclusion of peace the reverse occurred. Prices fell rapidly. The real values of the exports fell with equal rapidity, and contrasted unfavourably with their official values. The official value of the exports rose from £41,712,002 in 1815 to £64,582,037 in 1832; but their real value decreased in the same period from £49,653,245 to £36,046,027.[1]

An age which was only imperfectly instructed in economical doctrines was incapable of understanding the true significance of these accounts. How was it possible—so men asked one another—for the country to sell for £36,000,000 commodities which their own forefathers valued at £64,000,000? Could a manufacturer hope to obtain a profit when he was disposing of an article for 7*d.* for which his ancestors had charged 1*s.* 1*d.*? Was it not obvious that the increased trade was due to trading at a loss, and that it was consequently a source of evil, not of advantage, to the country? These gloomy opinions were, in reality, as valueless as the many warnings which have been uttered, from the time of Davenant to the present day, against an adverse balance in the trade of the nation. The facts which made these dreamers imagine that the country was trading at a loss were in reality only indications of the causes which were accounting for the prosperity of the nation. Peace, which

1 The imports, it may be as well to add, were at both periods only calculated according to the official values. The official values rose from £31,822,053 in 1815, to £43,237,417 in 1832. It is remarkable that the trade of the country increased in almost exactly the same proportion (50 per cent.) as the incomes of the upper and middle classes.

had reopened the ocean to the merchantman, was enabling the manufacturer to supply himself with his raw material at a constantly diminishing cost. Invention, busily improving the great discoveries of the previous century, was continually lowering the cost of manufacture; and the tradesman, buying his raw material for half its original price, and converting it into a manufactured article twice as quickly and twice as economically as before, was able to sell his goods for less than half the sum which he had previously asked for them, and to gain as large a profit as ever by the transaction.[1]

Which was due to the discoveries of the previous period.

Invention had, in fact, diminished the cost of production; machinery, introduced into almost every industry, had provided the manufacturers with a nearly illimitable power, while improved means of locomotion both by sea and by land had enabled them to supply their distant customers at a constantly decreasing cost, and to gather their materials from regions which had been previously inaccessible. Brindley and his followers had intersected the country with canals, Telford and MacAdam had supplied it with roads. The former had enabled the heavy articles of commerce to be conveyed at low rates to their various destinations. The latter had enabled the lighter articles to be carried, and had afforded every traveller the means of moving from place to place with a safety, at a speed, and for a price which, only a few years before, would have seemed unattainable. Travelling, promoted by these beneficent improvements, was deprived of half its inconveniences and of more than half its dangers, and the beautiful prayer in which the Church still

[1] One article will indicate the truth of this argument quite as clearly as a dozen articles. The price of raw cotton-wool fell from about 1*s.* 6*d.* in 1816 to about 6*d.* per lb. in 1832.—Tooke's *History of Prices*, vol. ii. p. 401. The value of the labour employed in turning cotton-wool into yarn fell from 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. in 1812 to 1*s.* 0½*d.* in 1830. See Mr. Lee's estimate, quoted by Peel, in *Hansard*, xlvi. 755. The labour is estimated at the same rate, 20*d.* a day, at both periods. It followed that the cost to a manufacturer of every pound of cotton yarn fell from 3*s.* to 1*s.* 6½*d.* in the interval. It may be added that, during this period, the declared value of the cotton manufactures exported slightly decreased, while the quantity exported was doubled. Cf. official and declared values in McCulloch's *Commercial Dict.*, ad verb. "Cotton."

associates the perils of the traveller with those of the sick-bed, the nursery, and the prison, was already becoming an anachronism.

The extraordinary facilities for locomotion, however, which had been obtained by the inventions of Brindley and Telford were on the eve of being superseded by a new discovery of the first importance. Neither Telford nor Brindley had succeeded in introducing a new power. Telford had merely facilitated locomotion by providing smooth roads with easy gradients. Brindley had only acted on the principle that water offers less resistance than earth to the movement of a heavy body. On the same principle it had for some time been customary in colliery districts to construct wooden rails, on which the loaded waggons could be drawn from the colliery to the vessel on the river or the barge on the canal. A horse, it was found, could draw a much heavier load on the rail than on the ordinary road. By degrees iron was substituted for wood as the material for the rail, the iron being at once more durable and offering less resistance to the wheel. But the tramway or railroad which was thus made continued to be worked by horse-power. No one had succeeded in substituting any other machinery for the purpose.[1]

The introduction of tramways and railways.

It was already, however, becoming obvious to advanced thinkers that the provision of a new motive power was only a question of time. Watt had reduced to practice the speculations of Solomon de Caus in France and of the Marquis of Worcester in England, and thousands of steam-engines were pumping mines and turning machinery. Fulton in America and Bell in Scotland had proved the possibility of using steam as a locomotive power on water, and new steamboats were constantly being constructed at all the great centres of the shipbuilding trade. Men were being familiarised with the

[1] Most of these railways were made for colliery purposes. Some, however, were constructed, under the authority of Acts of Parliament, on ordinary roads for general purposes. It is very remarkable that the fourth in order of time, for which such an authority was obtained, the Swansea and Oystermouth Railway, continued for seventy-four years afterwards to be worked by horse-power.

mighty power of the steam-engine, and were constantly contemplating the possibility of extending it to new uses. There were two classes of persons who were bent on applying steam to the purposes of locomotion by land. One class, dwelling on the ordinary requirements of the community, was desirous of inventing a machine which could travel on an ordinary road, and which would supersede the coach. Another class, more intimately connected with the wants of mining districts, was anxious to construct an engine which would travel on the wooden or iron rails to or from the collieries.

The first locomotive engine.

In the early years of the nineteenth century the class of inventors which desired to introduce steam on ordinary roads seemed much more likely to succeed than the class which rested their hopes on the railroad. Every town in the country had the advantage of a road, but there were not a dozen railroads in the whole of England; and these lines, usually laid on the ordinary thoroughfares, were constructed to meet the necessities of some particular traffic, and were neither strong enough nor flat enough for the purposes of steam. It was natural that an ordinary inventor, bent on the introduction of a new motive power, should contemplate its application to the only places where there seemed the slightest chance of its being used. Murdoch, whose name has already been mentioned in this work in connection with the invention of gas, was perhaps the first Englishman who constructed the model of a steam-carriage. His model was so far successful that the machine ran rapidly along the path on which it was tried. But Murdoch had probably little confidence in its practical value, for he took no further steps with his scheme. One of Murdoch's pupils, however, Richard Trevithick, pursued the idea which Murdoch had abandoned. In 1802 he patented a steam-coach, which, after a successful trial in Cornwall, was brought to London. The invention attracted considerable attention; some of the foremost thinkers of the age expressed their confidence in its utility. But Trevithick's wayward genius prevented his perfecting an invention which seemed on the eve of adoption. He shut up

his model, and addressed himself to the construction of a second steam-engine, to run, not upon a road, but upon rails. The locomotive was built. It was actually put to work. But after a short trial it ran off the rails and broke down, and was put away and forgotten.

The idea of a steam-coach, which Trevithick had thus embodied in a practical form, was not abandoned. Nearly thirty years after the good people of Cornwall had been startled and amused by the apparition of Trevithick's engine, a much more successful machine was introduced to public notice. In 1829 Mr. Gurney succeeded in inventing a steam-carriage, capable of running on an ordinary road at the rate of at least ten miles an hour, and of behaving with so much decorum, that it did not alarm the horses which it passed. Sir Willoughby Gordon, who at the time was Quartermaster-General to the army, took considerable interest in the novel machine, and endeavoured to induce Wellington, as Prime Minister, to regard it with equal respect. The Duke, however, was not in favour of experimental novelties, and was not inclined to agree with Gordon that the machine would "eventually and at no distant period force itself into very extensive use." There was, so the Duke was told, a very good reason against its adoption. These drag-engines could only draw a load one-twentieth part of their own weight. It would require, therefore, an engine of forty tons weight to draw a moderate load of two tons. Where were the roads which could support so crushing a burden? What could be the practical use of a machine which could only move on these conditions?[1]

In July 1829, when Wellington expressed this remarkable opinion, there were hardly ten men in England who would have ventured to gainsay it. Yet a locomotive engine had been at work for years, and one man, at any rate, had satisfied himself of the immense advantage arising from its use. George Stephenson, the son of a Northumbrian

George Stephenson.

[1] The Duke's opinion and Willoughby Gordon's reports will be found in *Wellington Despatches*, vol. vi. pp. 45, 48, 59, 64.

collier, was born at Wylam in 1781. Every traveller from Newcastle to Hexham may still see, on the opposite bank of the Tyne, the humble cottage in which the great engineer was born. His parents were poor; elementary education was in those days habitually neglected; and the inventor of the locomotive, instead of being sent to school, was employed in herding cows at twopence a day. Growing in stature and strength, he was taken from the meadow and put to work in the colliery. His wages were gradually raised to twelve shillings a week. His steady habits commended him to his employers, and he became successively engineman and brakesman at the colliery. These various employments were eminently advantageous to him. They familiarised him with the details of the engine and of the machinery. Mere familiarity, however, with these details would not have qualified him for the great career which he ultimately pursued. A man who could neither read nor write was shut off from the opportunity of acquiring the information which was accessible to his better educated contemporaries. Stephenson had the wisdom to appreciate his own deficiencies, and the courage to make arrangements for supplying them. His first savings were spent in purchasing the instruction which most men acquire when they are children four years old.

Stephenson, however, though he devoted his days to his ordinary work and his evenings to the schoolroom, found leisure for other occupations which were in their way advantageous to him. At an early period of his life an accident, which caused his eight-day clock to stop, directed his attention to clockmaking, and he in this way almost unconsciously acquired a more intimate acquaintance with machinery than his attention to his engine could possibly have given him. This intimacy soon stood him in good stead. In 1810 he succeeded in making an old Newcomen engine clear a pit at Killingworth, in which the water, after twelve months' fruitless pumping, was as high as ever. His success on this occasion gained for him in 1812 the post of engine-wright to the colliery, and in that office he had further opportunity

of familiarising himself with the use of machinery. He erected an engine to draw the coals out of the pit. He laid down a self-acting incline to carry them on their way to the loading-place. A self-acting incline, however, was obviously only practicable in those places where the fall of the land was from the colliery. For the most part of the journey the coals had to be laboriously drawn by horse-power from the pit to the river. It was natural that colliery proprietors and agents should examine the possibility of saving this serious cost, and two or three persons in the North of England endeavoured to improve Trevithick's engine, and to invent a locomotive capable of drawing coals. They were all, however, defeated by the imaginary difficulty which Wellington years afterwards urged in opposition to the Gurney steam-carriage. A smooth wheel passing over a smooth rail would, they imagined, slip, and there was no alternative, therefore, but to devise "a toothed driving wheel" capable of acting on a rack rail. Nothing but a series of costly failures, proving the impracticability of the rack rail, led to the common-sense adoption of a smooth wheel running on a smooth surface. But the best locomotive which had yet been invented was a costly failure. Horses, even in drawing loaded coal waggons, were cheaper and faster than steam.

Such was the position of the locomotive in 1812, when Stephenson was appointed engine-wright to the Killingworth Colliery. The lessees of the colliery, Sir Thomas Liddell, Lord Strathmore, and Mr. Stuart Wortley, had the wisdom to encourage the inventive ingenuity of their servant. Liddell advanced him money to enable him to build a locomotive; and Stephenson, thus provided with the requisite means, set about the construction of his first engine. The engine was so far successful that it drew heavy loads of coal at the rate of three miles an hour. But it had the same defect which characterised all its predecessors. It did not pay. It was legitimate to doubt the expediency of a machine which could not move more quickly or work more cheaply than horses; and one more proof had, therefore,

His first locomotive.

apparently been given of the uselessness of the locomotive. Residents in the neighbourhood, indeed, thought the machine worse than useless. The steam, escaping from the cylinder, alarmed their horses, and induced them to threaten legal proceedings to stop the nuisance. The threat, which nearly terminated the railway in the hour of its birth, became the wonderful means of securing its adoption.

It was obviously necessary to get rid of the hissing steam, which was making the neighbourhood of the engine a terror to horse-owners. The easiest way of doing so was to let it mingle with the smoke in the chimney. But Stephenson observed, what every one else must have noticed, that the light vapour which is called steam rises more rapidly into the air than the heavy particles of unburnt coal which are called smoke. It followed that, if the steam were introduced under the smoke, the smoke would pass more rapidly up the chimney, the draught in the furnace would be increased, and the combustion would be more perfect and more intense. He reduced his ideas to practice, and the truth was at once manifest. The steam ceased to hiss, the passing horses ceased to start, and the power of the locomotive was at once doubled. The success of the locomotive was no longer doubtful. Steam had become cheaper than horse-power.

The Killingworth engine, which had now become a success, continued to work on the Killingworth railway; and Stephenson, encouraged by the results which he had already obtained, proceeded to design a new locomotive, and to introduce improvements into the construction of the rails on which the engine ran. These alterations were made in 1816. They justified the confidence of their originator. The two Killingworth engines continued to perform their laborious duty of drawing coals from the colliery to the Tyne. But Killingworth was at a distance from the metropolis. Even scientific men took no interest in an invention which no one went out of his way to describe, and for three years no steps were taken to build another locomotive. At last, in 1819, the proprietors of a colliery in the adjacent connty of Durham decided on

substituting a railway for the waggon road on which their coals had hitherto been drawn to the river. They naturally inspected the successful works at Killingworth, and secured the services of the skilled workman who had designed the Killingworth locomotives. Stephenson had thus the opportunity of constructing his second railway; and, towards the end of 1822, he had the satisfaction of completing the work, and of seeing five locomotives, invented by himself and built under his own superintendence, successfully working on the new line.

His second railway.

Yet the progress of the locomotive had hitherto been marvellously slow. For eight years the Killingworth engines had been effectually demonstrating the power of steam, and, with one exception, steam had not been introduced on another railway. The locomotive, however, was on the eve of securing a much more important victory. Edward Pease, a colliery proprietor in Durham, a rich and far-sighted man, had for some years been advocating the construction of a railway between Stockton and Darlington. He had satisfied himself that a horse could draw ten tons, on an iron rail, with the ease with which it could draw one ton on a common road; and that the increased economy in horse-power would, therefore, more than repay the cost of constructing a railway. It was obvious, however, that a line of this description, passing over a considerable extent of country, and through the estates of various proprietors, could not be made without parliamentary sanction. The projected line, unfortunately, passed near one of Lord Darlington's fox coverts, and Darlington, in consequence, opposed the bill and secured its rejection. Fortunately Darlington's selfish opposition did not lead to the abandonment of the proposal. A new line was surveyed; the covert was carefully avoided; and Parliament, in 1821, sanctioned the construction of the Stockton and Darlington Railway.[1]

Edward Pease had met with a remarkable success. He had

[1] 1 and 2 Geo. IV. c. xliv. Porter (*Progress of the Nation*, p. 329) gives the date of the Act as 1823. The Act of 1823, 4 Geo. IV. c. xxxiii. was an amending Act, varying the line of the railway, &c.

obtained parliamentary sanction for a longer line of railway than had yet been constructed in the world. But the length of the line was the chief thing which was noteworthy about it. Nearly twenty tramways or railways had already been constructed under parliamentary sanction in various parts of the country; and there was nothing, therefore, beyond the length of the line which was new in Peace's proposal. Fortunately, however, Stephenson heard of the new Act. Still more fortunately he called on Pease, and persuaded him to come and see the Killingworth locomotive. Stephenson, made engineer to the new railway, suggested certain deviations from the approved plans, which necessitated a fresh application to Parliament. In the new Act the promoters, on Stephenson's advice, took power to work the railway by means of locomotive engines. Parliament gave the necessary sanction. Stephenson, with Pease's assistance, established a factory at Newcastle for the purpose of building locomotives. The various works which the construction of the line necessitated were successfully made; and, on the 27th of September 1825, the Stockton and Darlington Railway was opened for traffic. In the immediate neighbourhood the opening of the line was naturally regarded as an extraordinary event. The speculators went to see the new engine work: the sceptics went to see it fail. But the fame of the invention did not spread beyond the narrow limits of the immediate neighbourhood. The *Annual Register* of 1825, amidst its variety of news, does not devote a single line to the new railway. A week after its opening most of the London newspapers published a short account of the opening ceremony. But these accounts attracted no attention. The greatest event which had taken place in the history of the world since the battle of Waterloo was suffered to pass almost unnoticed. At the time of the opening probably not one person in every hundred in London had heard of the humble inventor, who had raised himself to the first place amongst his country's benefactors.

The Stockton and Darlington Railway.

The locomotive, however, was on the eve of attracting a

much wider attention. Liverpool and Manchester, endowed with fresh activity since the construction of the Bridgewater Canal, were annually increasing their population, their wealth, and their trade. The canal, which had been the origin of their prosperity, proved unequal to the growing traffic, and manufacturers and merchants were exposed to serious inconvenience by the constant delays which took place in the transport of their commodities from one town to the other. Under such circumstances, it was natural that the foremost thinkers should speculate on the possibility of connecting the two towns with a new road, and it was almost equally natural that they should contemplate the construction either of a tramway or a railway[1] worked with horse-power. Some years passed before the speculations which thus arose assumed a definite shape. The projectors, introduced to Stephenson, paid several visits to Killingworth to ascertain the possibility of using locomotives on the line. Their investigations naturally convinced them of the success of the new engines; and, in the course of 1825, they resolved on applying to Parliament for leave to construct a railway to be worked by steam-power. Stephenson was made engineer to the line; and his evidence, it was from the first foreseen, would be of great importance. Yet his evidence was open to one serious objection. He had such confidence in the merits of his engine that he claimed for it powers which made other people think him a madman. His own counsel begged him to moderate the speed of the locomotive to ten miles an hour. Ten miles an hour, however, seemed an impossible speed to the legislators of 1825. Even the best locomotive engine, argued one of them, could not travel at more than three or four miles an hour.[2] In the seventeenth

The Manchester and Liverpool Railway.

[1] These two words are used in a very different sense from that which they originally bore. Tramways were cast-iron plates about 4 inches wide, with the inner edge turned up. The wheels of the waggon ran along the plate, and were prevented running off the plate by the part thus turned up. Tramways could, of course, be used by any ordinary waggon. Wrought-iron rails were gradually substituted for the cast-iron plates, and were found to be an improvement. But the railroad, like the tramway, continued to be worked by horse-power.

[2] *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xii. p. 852.

century the French had confined De Caus in a lunatic asylum for persistently pressing on their notice the power of steam. In the nineteenth century English gentlemen thought Stephenson under a delusion when he adhered to his belief in the power of the locomotive. Yet Stephenson's engines had then been working for ten years at Killingworth; and any one who had taken the trouble to inquire into the facts might have satisfied himself of their efficiency.

The opposition with which the bill was assailed led to its withdrawal. Its promoters, however, decided on renewing their efforts in a future session. But the abuse with which Stephenson had been met shook their confidence in their engineer, and the preparation of the new bill was confided to other hands. The arguments against the locomotive had also told on the promoters of the line. They offered to abandon the use of steam or to submit to any restrictions on its use. Thus amended the bill came before Parliament in the session of 1826. The amendments, it was at once evident, had mitigated the violence of the opposition. The opening of the Stockton and Darlington Railway had afforded a practical answer to half their arguments. Lord Derby, indeed, in one House used all his efforts to defeat the measure. His grandson, Edward Stanley, in the other, exerted his eloquence, just ripening into maturity, against the bill. Notwithstanding this opposition the bill became law; and, after a fruitless attempt to secure the assistance of Rennie, the promoters obtained the services of Stephenson as engineer to the line.

Stephenson's appointment as engineer to the Liverpool and Manchester Railway afforded him an opportunity of displaying his ability. He had already raised himself to the first place among inventors by his steam-engines at Killingworth and Darlington. But the successes which he had hitherto achieved had resulted from the training which he had received as a colliery engine-wright. It was conceivable that a very able workman, constantly superintending a steam-engine, should be able to build a better engine than had hitherto been constructed. As engineer to the Liverpool and Manchester

Railway, however, his capacity was subjected to a new test. He was suddenly required to design and construct works of a character which had never even been contemplated by any previous engineer. At one end of the line he had to drive a tunnel under the streets of Liverpool. At the other end of it he had to carry the railway across a "moss" which a man could not walk upon. Yet the self-educated mechanic who had not known how to read at eighteen years of age, and who, with one exception, had never previously been employed on any considerable tunnel, completed his road over the moss, drove his road under Liverpool. The inexperienced workman, whom grave members of Parliament had thought mad in 1825, successfully accomplished the greatest work which had up to that time been undertaken in Great Britain, and the most original work which had been attempted since the days of Brindley.

In 1829 the success of the railway was assured; but the adoption of steam-power was still doubtful. The promoters of the line had not forgotten the ridicule with which the locomotive had been assailed in Parliament, and many of them were seriously inclined to work the railway either with stationary engines or with horse-power. The locomotives at Killingworth had been working for nearly fifteen years. The locomotives in Durham had been working for nearly four years. But the teachings of experience failed to convince persons who had been influenced by the arguments of prejudiced theorists; and the directors of the new railway refused to consent to the adoption of the locomotive. Stephenson induced them, before finally rejecting the notion of a travelling steam-engine, to offer a reward of £500 for the best locomotive that could be made. In October 1829 four different inventors sent engines to compete for the prize. Stephenson and his son Robert constructed the *Rocket* to take part in the competition. The people who met in the neighbourhood of Rainhill to witness the novel trial did not fancy the appearance of the *Rocket*. The strange distrust of Stephenson, which so frequently existed during his early career, influenced

The *Rocket* engine.

their feelings. But when the trial began the *Rocket* was the only engine that was ready to move. The other inventors succeeded in procuring a postponement of the competition. But on the second day their success was no better than on the first. The *Novelty* broke down; the *Sanspareil* ran itself to a standstill; and the *Perseverance* could not move at all. The *Rocket* fulfilled all the conditions of the contest, and wound up its performances by running at the rate of thirty-five miles an hour. Stephenson had at last proved the superiority of the locomotive, and the superiority of his own engine to that of any other inventor.

The *Rocket* had virtually settled the question which had been perplexing the directors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. There was no longer room for doubt that the new line must be worked by travelling steam-engines. But the *Rocket* had done more than settle a difficult question. It had proved the extraordinary capacity of the new power, which Stephenson had been previously almost alone in appreciating. The directors saw that the construction of their railway was something more than an event of local importance, and they determined to celebrate its opening with due ceremony. Wellington, who was Prime Minister, was invited, and consented to be present on the occasion. Peel, the Home Secretary, attended, with his chief; and Huskisson, the member for Liverpool, who had warmly supported the line in Parliament, was also in attendance. The presence of so many distinguished visitors naturally increased the enthusiasm of the people, who thronged out of the busy towns of Lancashire to witness a spectacle which had never been previously seen in the annals of the world. Eight locomotive engines, all constructed under Stephenson's superintendence, conveyed the distinguished persons who were accommodated with seats in the procession. Wellington, in a train drawn by the *Northumbrian*, was on the south line of the railway. The seven other locomotives were on the north line. The *Northumbrian* was stopped at Parkside, a little station near Newton, close to the spot where the Liverpool and Manchester Railway is now crossed by the North-

Western; and the seven locomotives on the north line were moved in procession before it. Unfortunately some peace-monger chose that opportunity for reconciling Huskisson and Wellington, who had never met since their unfortunate difference in 1828. The two statesmen shook hands. But they had hardly done so before the *Rocket* was seen approaching. Huskisson vainly endeavoured to get out of the way of the advancing engine. Clumsy from childhood, he failed to do so, and was knocked down and seriously injured. The unfortunate statesman, hastily removed to a friend's house at Eccles, sank within twenty-four hours from the injuries which he had received. It was afterwards noticed that the *Northumbrian*, in conveying him to Eccles, had run at the unprecedented rate of thirty-six miles an hour.[1]

The railway opened, and Huskisson killed.

A lamentable accident had given a melancholy interest to the opening of the new railway. But even the accident, which had resulted in the death of Huskisson, could not divert the attention of the public from the nature of the ceremony. Every one who had seen the eight locomotives travelling in procession on the new line, every one who had heard of the astonishing pace at which the suffering statesman had been carried to his friend's house, had received a new and convincing proof of the capacity and speed of the travelling engine. It was no longer possible for sceptical engineers to laugh at the self-educated mechanic who ventured to speak of passing over an hitherto intractable moss at the rate of twelve miles an hour. The intractable moss had been subdued; and the locomotives were running at three times the speed which their inventor had previously claimed for them. Engineers, surrendering their previous opinions, were now busily projecting new railways, and fondly speculating on the almost illimitable field for the exercise of their abilities which was suddenly afforded them. For a season, indeed, conservative municipalities, stagnating in the torpor

The extension of railways.

[1] For the accident see the introductory memoir, *Huskisson's Speeches*, vol. i. p. 233; and *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, Chron., p. 144.

of their dull existence, resisted the invasion of their quiet towns by the steam-engine; while country gentlemen, trembling for their foxes or for their pheasants, opposed the construction of railways near their own coverts. Interested opposition of this character soon disappeared, because the benefits which the railway conferred on municipalities and country gentlemen outweighed the slight inconveniences which it brought with it; and the classes, who, at one time, had tried to resist even the approach of the railway, complained if they had no station within easy distance of their own doors.

It is unnecessary to point out the advantages which resulted from the general construction of railways. They are obvious to the dullest observer who takes the trouble to reflect on the plainest lessons which are to be learned at every railway station. The very life of the country is dependent on its railway lines; and the best test of its condition is to be found in the traffic returns of the railways. But there is another benefit, perhaps less visible, which the introduction of railways conferred upon the country. Wealth had accumulated rapidly since the conclusion of the war. But there were few securities in which the moneyed classes could invest their savings. The debt of the nation was decreasing; and the public funds were no longer a very remunerative investment. The canal system was tolerably complete, and did not require the expenditure of any large amount of capital. Agricultural improvements had been arrested by the decreased price of agricultural produce; and there were no other obvious purposes to which an ordinary investor could devote his little savings. Yet the savings went on accumulating, and were ready for any profitable use. The natural result ensued. Financing speculators, with more ability than honesty, came forward to relieve the investors of their superfluous money; and the savings of the nation, pouring into the only available outlets, were wasted in the waters of the ocean or the deserts of South America. It required the crisis of 1825–6 to convince the people of the folly which they had committed. But the sharp lesson, while it taught them prudence, did not teach them how to save. They abstained

from investing their savings abroad, but they kept them unproductive at home. Trade, in consequence, stagnated from the prevalent distress; and the labouring classes, suffering from its stagnation, were unable to find employment for their labour. The introduction of railways at once altered this condition of things. The investing classes found a new, safe, and almost boundless field for the investment of their money; the labouring classes found a new sphere for the employment of their labour; and the country not only derived benefit from the freer circulation which railways produced, but also from the wider employment of labour and capital.[1]

These benefits, whatever they were, the country owed to one man. The locomotive was as much the work of Stephenson as the water-frame was the creation of Arkwright or the power-loom of Cartwright. The persevering ability of a self-educated mechanic had solved a problem which had baffled the greatest thinkers of his generation. His invention had conferred far greater benefits on his country than the victories of her foremost general or the legislation of her wisest statesman. At the time at which it became generally known a more humble discovery was gradually attracting universal attention. Fire and light are two of the conditions without which life would not be endurable; but in the remote ages fire and light were only obtained with difficulty. The Greeks believed that Prometheus had stolen from heaven the flame which was the creator of every art. The Romans instituted a special religious order for the purpose of preventing the flame being ever extinguished. Such expedients may have been necessary when steel was an article of rare luxury, which no one but the wealthy could

The invention of matches.

[1] These reflections, of course, apply to the investment of money for the *bonâ fide* purpose of constructing railways. At a later period of our history investments of this character were changed into a feverish speculation in shares. But the "Railway Mania," as it was called, was wholly distinct from the original movement for the construction of railways, and will be treated separately later on. For the account of Stephenson see Smiles' *Lives of the Engineers*, to which work I am much indebted for the particulars of the great engineer's life.

easily obtain. Such expedients may not have seemed quite ridiculous at the commencement of the nineteenth century. Matches, which are, perhaps, the commonest domestic article in use, had not then been invented. Their invention was due to the greater attention which was gradually given to chemical studies. It was found that chlorate of potash, brought into contact with sulphuric acid, burst into flame; and it consequently followed that a piece of wood, tipped with chlorate of potash, could be ignited by being dipped into sulphuric acid. This discovery led to the first match. But the primitive match, thus introduced, was soon improved. The sulphuric acid was enclosed in a small glass bead, and attached to the match. The glass was broken by the match being drawn across some rough substance, and the friction match was thus invented. Soon afterwards phosphorus was substituted for the acid. United with the chlorate of potash it exploded with a sharp crackle. Further ingenuity removed this objection, and noiseless matches were introduced. Inventors sometimes give fantastic names to their inventions. The original matches were known as Eupyrions; the improved matches as Prometheans; the crackling matches as Congreves; the noiseless matches as Lucifers or Vestas.

The introduction of matches cannot be compared in importance with the invention of the locomotive. The "lucifer" merely added to the comfort of the community: the railway endowed it with new life. Both inventions, however, afforded fresh proof of the ingenuity which was at work in the world, and which was continually devising new means for promoting the happiness and the prosperity of its population. Invention, which was continually increasing the power of man, was, in no case, attributable to the statesmen who fancied that they were controlling the destinies of humanity; and Britain, the most prosperous of nations, was prospering, not in consequence of anything that her statesmen were doing to promote her industry, but because, almost for the first time in her history, they had the wisdom to refrain from needless interference with trade.

Peace had, in fact, deprived the country gentlemen of their chief excuse for maintaining restrictions on trade. Peace had enabled the ministry to reduce the military and naval establishments, to diminish the expenditure of the nation, and had consequently destroyed one of the arguments by which the Legislature had justified the continuance of heavy duties.

Reduced expenditure consequent on the peace.

Reduced taxation, however, was only one of the results which had proceeded from the Peace. Britain, in 1832, was a happier and a freer country than Britain in 1815. Men were no longer commonly forbidden to serve their country because they happened to dissent from the doctrines of the Established Church. Men were no longer commonly rewarded at the expense of their country because they happened to be related to influential persons. Offices were not granted away before they became vacant; and offices with no duties attached to them had been largely decreased in number. Weak in most respects, Liverpool had displayed firmness in his ecclesiastical appointments, and had risked the displeasure of both supporters and colleagues by declining to confer bishoprics on their relations.[1] Liverpool's example had been generally imitated by his successors; and a feeling had consequently arisen that the highest dignities in the Church could not be properly bestowed on clergymen because they had the good fortune to be well-born or to be well-connected. The man, indeed, who had busied himself with the ordinary duties of his parish was still too frequently neglected; and the claims of mere learning were still too frequently preferred to the claims of parochial work. "The arch-mediocrity who governed" England "sought for the successors of the Apostles among third-rate hunters after syllables."[2] But it was an immense advance in the history of the Church when learning was preferred to birth.

Decreasing abuse of patronage.

[1] The most signal instance of this was Lord Liverpool's refusal to raise Gerald Wellesley either to the English or the Irish Bench. The correspondence between Lord Liverpool and the Duke of Wellington, &c., on the subject will be found in *Liverpool*, vol. iii. pp. 380–396.

[2] *Tancred*, chap. iv.

A capacity to edit a Greek Testament or to write a Greek grammar was not the highest qualification for the Bench; but it was a much higher qualification than the accident of noble birth or the fortune of a good marriage.[1]

The people were gradually attaching a new meaning to patronage; and ministers, checked by the general expression of opinion, were no longer able to perpetuate offices which had no duties attached to them, or to confer situations, either in the State or in the Church, on individuals whose chief recommendation was a close connection with a peer. Abuses were not tolerated with the equanimity with which they had previously been regarded; and statesmen, accustomed to the old method of government by patronage, were wondering, as sinecure after sinecure was abolished, how the King's Government was to be carried on. There was, however, one branch of the public service in which nearly all the old abuses still continued to flourish unchecked and almost unreproved. The vast majority of the people, fortunately for themselves, had no necessity to go to law. They were, in consequence, insensible to the evils which existed in the Law Courts; and many of them even had an indistinct idea that legal proceedings should be discouraged by the State, and consequently made inconvenient and expensive to the suitors. Gross abuses were thus allowed to remain unreformed and almost unnoticed, and lawyers and officials reaped a rich

The abuses in the Law Courts.

[1] The clergymen promoted to the Bench from 1815 to 1832 were Drs. Legge, Marsh, Van Mildert, Carey, Kaye, Blomfield, Bethell, Jenkinson, Sumner, Lloyd, Percy, Copleston, Sumner (afterwards Archbishop), Ward, Bagot, Gray, Monk, Phillpotts, and Grey. Jenkinson and Grey owed their promotion to their birth. Percy was the son of Lord Beverley and the son-in-law of Manners Sutton; Sumner, the tutor to Lord Conyngham's son; Legge, the son of Lord Dartmouth; Bagot, of Lord Bagot. The names of most of the others are still remembered for their learning or scholastic acquirements. Phillpotts' appointment was the only one which created any great scandal. He was a distinguished Tory pamphleteer and the rector of Stanhope, the richest living in the See of Durham. He was given the See of Exeter, retaining the living *in commendam*. But Wellington went out of office, and Grey refused to allow the arrangement. *Vide Hansard*, Third Series, vol. i. pp. 622, 932; and cf. *Wellington Despatches*, vol. vii. p. 362.

harvest from the unfortunate suitors whom accident or misfortune forced into the Law Courts.

The Common Law Courts.

There were, at the period under review, three Superior Courts of Common Law at Westminster; viz., the Court of King's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, and the Court of Exchequer. The King's Bench, or the King's Court, had originally only cognisance of suits in which the Crown had a direct interest; the Exchequer, as its name implies, had in the first instance only jurisdiction in revenue cases; and an ordinary suit between subject and subject was, therefore, brought into the Court of Common Pleas. By gross fictions the Court of King's Bench and the Court of Exchequer gradually extended their jurisdiction to all cases. The same policy, which had originally induced the Court of King's Bench to extend its jurisdiction, continued to prevail. The Court of Common Pleas narrowed its sphere of work by exacting large fees from the parties who came into it. The Court of Exchequer limited its business by admitting only a select body of attorneys and clerks; while the Court of King's Bench, acting on more liberal principles, gradually absorbed most of the legal business of the country. The natural consequences ensued. The ablest judges were generally placed in the King's Bench; and the ministry of the day, finding the other courts neglected by the public, occasionally regarded them as convenient havens for the retirement of inefficient barristers, whose abilities would not have qualified them for the work of the King's Bench.[1]

The Counties Palatine and Wales.

All suits, except those arising in the Counties Palatine of Chester, Durham, and Lancaster, or in the Principality of Wales,[2] had to be tried on records proceeding out of one of the Superior Courts. As the assizes were only held twice a year, and in particular towns, it followed that a case could not be tried except once in each six

[1] See Brougham's speech, *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xviii. p 134. There were 850 untried cases in the King's Bench in 1825, and there were rarely a dozen in the Exchequer. *Ibid.* p. 136.

[2] There was something almost ludicrous in the position of the courts which were held from time to time in the Counties Palatine. The Chancellor of

months and at an assize town.[1] Most suits were carried into the King's Bench; and the ablest barristers usually confined themselves to it. But, in theory, the three Superior Courts were of co-ordinate authority; and a suitor had an equal right to go into any one of them. An ordinary English gentleman, however, who found it necessary to go to law must have been strangely puzzled on the very threshold of his suit by the procedure which it was requisite to adopt. In each of the three courts the process was different. In all of them it was unintelligible to the lay mind. Original writs—subdivided into special originals and common originals—attachments of privilege, bills, writs of "Capias quare clausum fregit," of "Venire facias ad respondendum," of "Quo minus capias;" subpœnas "ad respondendum" and bills of "Latitat" were some of the antiquated processes by which the attendance of the defendant was ordered, or the attendance of the defendant who skulked, was enforced.[2] The

Procedure in the Common Law Courts.

Durham was unable to enforce his decrees beyond the narrow limits of the county; and the man who was not possessed of real property within it, and who became the subject of a decree of the court, quietly removed beyond its borders. *Romilly*, vol. ii. p. 112. The system of Welsh judicature was even worse. The Chief-Justiceship of Chester was a well-paid office. Its acceptance did not compel its recipient to vacate his seat in Parliament, or even to retire from his practice at the Bar. The same thing was true of the Welsh judges, and no superannuation allowance was granted to the older men, who consequently retained their situations after their age and their infirmities disqualified them from discharging their duties. The Welsh judges, moreover, never changed their circuits. They, therefore, enjoyed an intimate acquaintance with the country gentlemen of the neighbourhood and the barristers and solicitors who practised in their courts. Justice was, of course, very imperfectly administered either by an old barrister, who was past his work, or by an active barrister, who was engaged in the ordinary business of his profession. *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xviii. p. 147. Clever attorneys occasionally consulted the judge in his capacity of counsel before they ventured on introducing the case into his court. On at least one occasion the scandal was made public. "My lord," said a Welsh attorney, one day, in the court of a Welsh judge, "here is your opinion, given to me on such a day, and it is quite contrary to the one now delivered." The attorney was, of course, reprimanded; but he persisted in his complaint. He thought it very odd that the judge should take his money one day for one opinion, and the king's money the next day for a different opinion. The story is told in *Hansard*, First Series, vol. xv. p. 667.

[1] See Brougham's speech, *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. i. p. 712.

[2] Tomlins's *Law Dictionary*, ad verb. "Process."

process was so obscure that not one man in every thousand attempted to understand it. Unfortunately, the later steps in an action were sufficiently intelligible. Some one owed some one else a sum of perhaps £10. The unfortunate creditor had the folly to attempt to recover the debt. He brought an action for the purpose, and entered it for the next assizes. The case was, perhaps, low down on the list. The assize town was at some distance from the creditor's ordinary abode; and he, his solicitor, and his witnesses were kept waiting from ten to twenty days for a hearing. The witnesses' travelling expenses, at the rate of eighteenpence per mile, had to be paid; their personal expenses, varying from £2, 2s. to 5s. a day, had to be paid; and the solicitor was also entitled to charge £2, 2s. for each day's attendance. It will be easily understood that £50 to £60 might be spent in recovering the £10. It is true that the creditor was nominally entitled to his costs. But the taxed costs never exceeded two-thirds of the actual costs. The creditor therefore was likely to spend £20 of his own money in recovering £10.

Expense of actions.

It ought, indeed, to be added that certain local courts existed for the special purpose of facilitating the recovery of small debts. There were 240 of these courts—Courts of Request, or Courts of Conscience, as they were usually called. The first of them had been constituted in London, in the reign of Henry VIII., and from time to time others had been instituted in various centres of the population. But the jurisdiction of these courts was limited. They usually could not enforce their decrees beyond a narrow area; their constitution gave no one any confidence in their decisions; and they were of more advantage to the individuals who had patent offices in connection with them than to the community at large. A creditor, therefore, who had to recover a debt was practically nearly always compelled to bring his action in one of the Superior Courts; and as a matter of fact, in 1829, the Chief-Justice of the King's Bench tried

406 cases relating to sums of less than £20.[1] Every one of the parties to these actions must, on an average, have spent upon them a larger sum than that in dispute. Costs, indeed, to the amount of £100 had been incurred in recovering a debt of £19.[2] The Courts of Law were, nominally, open to every Englishman. But those who had experienced the expense and uncertainty of a lawsuit must have been tempted to add, with Horne Tooke, "And so is the London tavern—to those who can pay."[3]

The system seemed the more intolerable because a better one had been in force in Scotland for generations. It was the custom of Englishmen, at the commencement of the present century, to look down upon Scotland as a backward country; yet the Scotch were in many respects in advance of them. In Scotland a system of land registry, under which the transfer of real property was facilitated, was in force; in Scotland a tolerably efficient elementary school was to be found in every parish; in Scotland the Sheriffs-Depute had jurisdiction in all minor suits, and, on an average, annually decided 22,000 cases.[4] The example of Scotland, therefore, decisively proved that there was no insuperable reason against the constitution of local courts, and that the delay, inconvenience, and expense which resulted from the want of them was easily avoidable.[5]

The cost of legal proceedings naturally afforded an unfair advantage to the rich man. No one but a rich man could afford the cost inseparable from a lawsuit; and a rich man, if he were dishonest, ran only a small risk in defrauding a poor one. The iniquity of the system could, however, be hardly comprehended by the suitor who had merely the misfortune

[1] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. i. p. 720. [2] Ibid., vol. xviii. p. 240.

[3] *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xlv. p. 466.

[4] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. i. p. 725.

[5] The delays in the Superior Courts in Scotland were also considerable. The innkeeper in the *Antiquary* says of the suit Hutchinson against Mackitchinson, "It's a weel kenn'd plea—it's been four times in afore the fifteen, and deil onything the wisest o' them could make o't, but just to send it out again to the Outer House. Oh, it's a beautiful thing to see how lang and how carefully justice is considered in this country."—*Antiquary*, ch. ii.

to become a party to an action. The suitors in Equity had the exceptional opportunity of understanding the full meaning of "the law's delay." One of the greatest masters of fiction has wound the plot of one of his most pathetic stories round a Chancery suit, and has described the endless anxieties and disappointments of the unfortunate suitors. But the great suit of "Jarndyce and Jarndyce," with its eternal ramifications, was conducted in the Court of Chancery after it had been slightly reformed; and the unfortunate individuals who were concerned in it had not full experience of the proceedings of an unreformed court. Equity.

Yet the delays of a Chancery suit were a common proverb in the nation. Every one probably knew some unfortunate individual, who had grown old and grey, hoping against hope for the termination of a suit in Chancery. Every one had heard of the old peeress who had insisted on remaining a few minutes in Court to see how they set to work to settle her suit which had been eighty-two years in Chancery.[1] Many people had been told of the infant who had grown up to maturity and who had died of a broken heart from being kept out of his property, locked up in Chancery. In every county, in almost every parish, the little children gazed with awe at some house, without a pane of glass in its windows, without a streak of paint on its mouldering woodwork, where the dirt was accumulating on the dripping floor, and the weeds were growing in rank luxuriance in the garden, and which, their elders told them, was in Chancery. Even the brutal spectators at a prize fight, when one prize-fighter was at the mercy of his assailant, declared that his head was in Chancery.

Delay, expense, anxiety, and remorse were the inevitable consequences of a Chancery suit. Yet for some of the delay, expense, anxiety, and remorse the Court could not justly be held responsible. For centuries the Chancellor and the Master of the Rolls were the only two judges in Chancery.[2] Yet during that period the business in Chancery had

[1] The story has been frequently told. *Vide*, *inter alia*, *Eldon*, vol. iii. p. 404.

[2] The Court of Exchequer had also an Equity jurisdiction.

increased enormously. In 1726 the property belonging to the suitors of the Court, which was lodged with the Accountant-General, amounted to less than three-quarters of a million. In 1750 it was less than two millions. In 1780 it exceeded seven millions; in 1800 it had increased to seventeen millions; in 1815 to thirty-two millions; in 1825 to nearly forty millions.[1] The machinery which was adequate for dealing with this fund in 1726 was wholly inadequate in 1825.

The history of an unopposed cause in Chancery.

The increase in the business of the Court, however, was neither the sole nor the chief reason of the delay which occurred. Delay was inseparable from the system which was uniformly pursued. The simplest cause took a dozen years to settle. A testator, for instance, who made his will in 1816 bequeathed certain legacies to various charities. The legacies were contrary to the Statute of Mortmain, and were void. The exercise of a little common sense would have enabled any court to hand over the property to the right persons in a couple of hours. So simple a process, however, would not have satisfied the requirements of Chancery. In 1819, after the testator's death, the heir-at-law filed a Bill in Chancery to have the legacies declared void. In the course of 1820 the trustees of the charities concerned and the executors of the testator put in their answers. At the end of 1821 the cause was heard, and referred to one of the Masters in Chancery to find out whether the plaintiff was really the heir-at-law. The Master in due course reported; and in 1823 the cause, which in the interval had been set down for further hearing, was referred back to the Master for an account of the property. In 1824 the Master made his second report; in 1825 the case was set down for further directions; and in 1826 it was referred back to the Master to ascertain the children of the testator's half-nephews. In 1828, when the particulars of the case were publicly related in the House of Commons, the Master was still pursuing this inquiry.[2]

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xlv. p. 466; and *Eldon*, vol. iii. p. 364.

[2] The case will be found in *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xviii. p. 325.

Such was the ordinary course of a case in which there was practically no opposition, and in which there was no room for any doubt. But when a suit was seriously defended its course was far less smooth. The first decree of the Court was usually a reference of the cause to the Master's office for inquiry. Months probably elapsed before the Master reported. Exceptions were commonly taken to the Master's decision. The exceptions were, thereupon, set down for hearing, and the cause for re-hearing. Eighteen months generally passed before the appeal could be heard. The decree upon the appeal frequently directed a fresh reference. The same dreary delay took place before the Master reported. The other party had then an opportunity of taking exceptions to the report. The exceptions were set down for hearing; and months, or even sometimes years, elapsed before they came on for argument. The exceptions would, perhaps, be allowed. The other party had then the opportunity of appealing against their allowance. The case would, accordingly, be set down for re-hearing, and, after another year's delay, it might possibly be re-heard. If the judgment in this stage were in favour of the exceptions, a fresh reference was made to the Master's office. Ten years had probably been wasted in settling nothing, and the whole weary business had to be recommenced from the beginning. Fresh decrees had to be pronounced and followed by fresh references. Fresh reports had to lead to fresh appeals and fresh exceptions; and the miserable suitors had to go on vainly watching the progress of a suit, which was always returning to the point from which it had originally started.[1]

The history of an opposed cause in Chancery.

The wretched system would have been bad enough if the Masters had been paid by salary. Unfortunately, the Masters were paid by fees. There is no reason for supposing that they were not honourable men. On the contrary, many of them were men of the highest character.

The Masters in Chancery.

[1] Authority for the whole of the delays stated in the text will be found in *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xxi. pp. 1277, 1278. Cf. p. 1500; and *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. vii. p. 705.

The vicious system was no creation of theirs; but they could not avoid degradation by it. Paid by fees, it was their direct interest to protract a suit. It was their custom to facilitate a suit by accepting expedition money. Slow under any circumstances, the suit would not move at all unless its progress was accelerated by fees for despatch. It was publicly stated in 1830 that some of the Masters in Chancery divided from £3000 to £4000 a year from fees of this character.[1] There was, moreover, no check on the system. The fees were paid to the clerks of the Masters by the attorneys engaged in the suit; and it was the duty of these clerks to tax the attorneys' bills.[2] It was not likely that a public officer would disallow a fee which had passed through his own fingers. The Masters were not the only persons in the Court who derived a remunerative income from fees. It was a rule in the Registrar's office of the Court that all suitors should have copies of the documents relating to suits. The suitor—who, perhaps, had the original documents—did not require copies. In that case his suit would not even make the slow progress of a suit in Chancery. The officials in the Registrar's office were entitled to charge 6*s.* 8*d.* a folio for a copy, and they were not likely to allow a suit to progress unless they received their perquisite. There was something peculiarly exhilarating in charging 6*s.* 8*d.* for a copy which an ordinary law stationer would gladly do for a few pence. The practice was the more exhilarating from the length to which documents in Chancery commonly extended. In one case 10,497 folios were drawn up in two years.[3]

The Registrar in Chancery.

The multiplication of unnecessary documents in Chancery was encouraged by another practice. The examination of witnesses was conducted after a fashion which had probably no parallel in any other part of the world. The counsel engaged in the suit drew up the questions which he wished the witnesses to be asked; one of the officials of the Court,

[1] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. i. p. 1283; and vol. ii. p. 855.
[2] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 857.
[3] Ibid., New Series, vol. xvii. p. 253; and Third Series, vol. ii. p. 861.

the Examiner, wrote down the answers; and, after the lapse of a considerable period, the answers which were thus given were duly published. After publication the other side naturally desired to put some further questions to the witnesses, and the same tedious formalities were again gone through.[1] The unfortunate suitor who took the trouble to make himself acquainted with the course of his suit must, amidst these numerous formalities, have ceased to wonder at its slow progress, and have learned to be thankful that it made any progress at all.

The cost of a Chancery suit.

The expense which was inseparable from this complicated procedure was enormous. Attorneys, who paid expedition fees to the officials who taxed their bills, were able to make their own charges without much fear of the consequences. A suitor in a will case presented a petition to the House of Commons in 1831 complaining that his attorney's bill amounted to £7000. He was advised that he had no remedy except to have the bill taxed, and that the fees for taxing it would cost £1500 more.[2] This unfortunate suitor had the consolation of reflecting that he was not solitary in his misfortune. A Chancery suit frequently lasted twenty years, and cost £5000. No respectable practitioner in the Court of Chancery ever recommended a client to insist on a demand for even so considerable a sum as £500. It was understood in the profession that it was wiser to forego a claim of this amount, however well-founded, than to incur the expense, anxiety, and delay of a Chancery suit.[3]

It may, perhaps, be thought that the evils, some of which have been described in the last few paragraphs, corrected themselves. No one was compelled to commence a suit in Chancery; and the people who complained of the vexatious delays of the Court were at any rate at liberty to refrain from applying to it. Unfortunately, however, few people who had any money of their own, or who held any money in trust for

[1] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. ii. p. 833.
[2] Ibid., vol. ix. p. 251.
[3] *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xlv. p. 467.

other people, could rely on passing through their lives without being concerned in a suit in Chancery. Every executor who was doubtful about the construction of a will was compelled, in his own defence, to apply to the Court for directions; and, instead of the Court adjudicating on the doubtful point, it was in the habit of insisting on the whole estate being placed in Chancery. No legatee, when the executor declined to pay over the legacies, had any redress except by filing a Bill in Chancery.[1] It was necessary to place the estate of every lunatic in Chancery. It was frequently necessary to place the estate of a minor in Chancery.[2] Any man engaged in trade who owed a hundred pounds might be declared a bankrupt on an affidavit made in his absence, without his knowledge;[3] and the estate of every bankrupt was administered under the supervision of the Court of Chancery.

For a long time this oppressive system had attracted attention, and the procedure and delays of the highest tribunal in the kingdom had become a by-word. Yet nothing had been done. Few persons, who were unacquainted with the interior economy of the Court, had the knowledge which would have enabled them to attempt its reform; and the numerous officials, and still more numerous lawyers, who grew fat on the property of the unfortunate suitors, were not likely to undertake the task. The system, however, became more intolerable than ever after the commencement of the nineteenth century. From 1801 to 1827 Eldon, with one short interval, continuously held the Chancellorship. All his contemporaries were ready to admit his profound knowledge of law; all of them were ready to defer to his clear and careful opinions. The only Englishman, in fact, who had no confidence in Eldon's judgments was Eldon himself. His scrupulous anxiety to avoid mistake made him hesitate to decide, and he was continually induced to defer his decisions, in order that he

[1] It was the occasional device—so it was alleged—of dishonest executors to trade on this, and to decline to pay legacies, in the hope that the legatees would hesitate to commence a Chancery suit.

[2] Cf. *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xviii. p. 317.

[3] Ibid., Third Series, vol. ii. p. 931.

might have the opportunity of reconsidering all the facts of the case. Accuracy is, no doubt, one of the most enviable qualities which can be possessed by man. But even accuracy can be purchased at too high a cost. An unfortunate suitor, who had experienced all the delays of a Chancery suit, and whose case was ripe for judgment, would probably have rather risked a possible error on the Chancellor's part than have submitted to an almost indefinite postponement of judgment for the satisfaction of the Chancellor's doubts.

The delays increased by Lord Eldon's doubts,

Eldon's doubts, however, were not the only cause of the increased delays which took place in Chancery. During the long period of his Chancellorship he was one of the most important members of the Cabinet. His colleagues frequently required his presence in Downing Street or the House of Lords, when his duties ought to have confined him to Lincoln's Inn. His political avocations, in other words, interfered with his judicial work, and the whole machinery of the Court was reduced to a standstill because the functionary who presided over it combined in his own person the incompatible position of a judge and a minister. One other cause may also be stated for the increased delays of the Court of Chancery. The estates of all the bankrupts in the country were administered under the superintendence of the Court, and the time of the Chancellor was consequently frequently devoted to settling difficult points in bankruptcy. The number of bankruptcies had, of course, largely increased with the increased population, and the Chancellor's days were frequently wholly occupied with this portion of his business.

and by the increased number of bankruptcy cases.

The arrears in Chancery, which were ever accumulating, were brought under the notice of the House of Commons in the session of 1809. Michael Angelo Taylor, who was the first member of Parliament to move in the matter, was a pompous barrister, with a little body and a loud voice, whose private fortune had interfered with his professional advancement and introduced him

Michael Angelo Taylor attempts the reform of Chancery.

to a parliamentary career. Calling himself on one occasion "a mere chicken in the law," he was ever afterwards known as "Chicken Taylor."[1] His pomposity made him a favourite subject for the humour of the House, and his good temper was never disturbed by the jokes which were often made at his expense. In 1809 Taylor drew attention to the delays in the Court of Chancery. Eldon treated the motion as an attack upon himself, and declared that he would resign his office if anything were done. The threat did its work. The House passed on to other subjects, and for two years nothing more was heard of the delays in the Court of Chancery. In 1811 Taylor again drew attention to the subject, moving for a committee of inquiry into the causes of delay. His motion was carried by the Speaker's casting vote;[2] and in 1812 the committee which was thus appointed was renewed. The members of the committee, however, declined to enter on the question of arrears. The House refused to compel them to do so,[3] and the inquiry which had been granted on Taylor's motion proved abortive.

The committee had only failed because the Chancellor himself had anticipated its inquiry. Acknowledging that the appeal cases had fallen into arrear, he proposed that the House of Lords should regularly sit three days a week to hear appeals; and that a new judge should be appointed to conduct the business of the Court of Chancery. This arrangement was carried out in 1813.[4] But ministers did not make much use of the new office which they had succeeded in creating. Instead of providing for the arrears in Chancery they converted the Vice-Chancellorship into a haven of retirement for Sir Thomas Plumer, the Attorney-General. Plumer knew "nothing of the law of real property, nothing of the law of bankruptcy, and nothing of the doctrines peculiar to courts of equity."[5] But he was in wretched

[1] *Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 170.

[2] *Romilly*, vol. ii. p. 391; *Chancellors*, vol. vii. p. 271.

[3] *Hansard*, First Series, vol. xxiii. p. 61.

[4] 53 Geo. III. c. 24; and Campbell's *Chancellors*, vol. vii. p. 302.

[5] *Romilly*, vol. iii. p. 102. Twiss (*Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 242) admits that Plumer should not have been appointed.

health. He had been a law officer of the Crown for six years, and the ministry regarded the claims of a colleague as of more importance than the convenience of the public. Plumer was accordingly made Vice-Chancellor. So far as his health and training permitted he made a useful and anxious judge. But those who practised before him felt that he was incompetent to discharge the duties of his post, and that a praiseworthy desire to do his duty was a very different thing from a capacity for doing it.[1]

A Vice-Chancellor appointed.

Bad, however, as Plumer's appointment was, the presence of an additional judge in Chancery necessarily afforded a good deal of relief to expectant suitors. Some of the arrears were gradually worked off, and the complaints which had been annually made of the intolerable delays of the Court became, in consequence, fainter. In 1818 another change was made in the machinery of Chancery. For nearly seventeen years Sir William Grant had discharged the duties of Master of the Rolls with infinite credit to himself, and with advantage to the public. He retired in 1818, and Sir Thomas Plumer was selected to succeed him. For Plumer's place the ministry selected the Regent's friend, Sir John Leach, "the busy and insinuating" adviser who instigated the appointment of the Milan Commission. In some respects no appointment could have been better. Leach's mind was essentially quick. His natural disposition to decide rapidly was encouraged by rivalry with Eldon, and he strove by his own despatch to ridicule his chief's delay. Reinforced in this manner, the Court of Chancery contrived to escape public censure. For ten years no serious attack was made upon it. In 1823, however, the assault which had originally been conducted under the auspices of Taylor was renewed by a more competent assailant, John Williams.[2] Both in 1823 and in 1824 he moved for an inquiry into

[1] *Romilly*, vol. iii. p. 325.

[2] Williams was one of the counsel who had been concerned in the Queen's trial; he subsequently rose to a Puisne Judgeship in the Court of King's Bench.

the state of the Court of Chancery. The arguments which he employed in the House were repeated by Denman in the columns of the *Edinburgh Review*,[1] and the attention of the public was thus directed to the inconveniences and delays of the existing system. In 1823, indeed, the ministry, rallying to the support of the Chancellor, succeeded in rejecting Williams's motion by a large majority.[2] But in 1824 it felt unable to resist inquiry, and met the inconvenient motion by the appointment of a Royal Commission.[3] Keen reformers thought that the constitution of the commission made it a useless body. At the head of a tribunal, expressly appointed to inquire into the practices of the Court, were the three judges who were responsible for its proceedings — Eldon, the Chancellor; Lord Gifford, who had just succeeded Plumer as Master of the Rolls; and Leach, the Vice-Chancellor. This triumvirate was supported by Redesdale, a profound Equity lawyer, but the most conservative of politicians; by Wetherell, who had just been made Solicitor-General; and by a dozen other lawyers, most of whose names are less known, and among whom one alone, Lushington, had achieved a reputation as a reformer. Such a tribunal was not likely to accomplish any large or salutary reforms; and, as a matter of fact, the Commissioners satisfied themselves with doing very little. They thought that the process under which the defendant to an action was subpœnaed to appear might be improved; that the time which was allowed to him to plead or demur might be shortened; that the action might be allowed to proceed without copies being forced on all the parties to it; that the gratuities to the clerks in the Masters' offices might be abolished; and that the six clerks might undertake the duties of taxing costs. But the Commissioners, who reluctantly adopted these moderate re-

Williams urges Chancery reform.

The Commission of 1824.

[1] Arnould's *Denman*, vol. i. p. 246.
[2] 174 votes to 89. *Hansard*, New Series, vol. ix. p. 794.
[3] *Eldon*, vol. iii. p. 328.

commendations,[1] did not touch the real grievances in the Court of Chancery. They did not recommend the discontinuance of the Masters; they clung to the antiquated practice of taking evidence in writing; they refused to contemplate the separation of the bankruptcy business from the Court; they declined to admit the delays which were perceptible to every one but themselves.[2] Their recomendations were, in consequence, received with ridicule by the profession and by the public. A Chancery suit, argued the *Edinburgh Review*, now lasts on an average twenty years, and costs £5000. If all the recommendations of the Commissioners should be adopted the time may possibly be reduced to nineteen years, the cost to £4750.[3]

The report of the Chancery Commissioners naturally created very little enthusiasm. The Whigs, who desired reform, had not much patience with the recommendations of the Commissioners. The Tories, who wished to leave things as they were, found a fresh excuse for doing so in the lagging spirit of their adversaries. Copley, indeed, who was Attorney-General, introduced a bill to give effect to the recommendations of the Commissioners.[4] But the bill was allowed to slumber unnoticed and unremembered till, two years afterwards, it was reintroduced by its author, as Chancellor.[5] Lyndhurst was no more successful as Chancellor than he had proved as Attorney-General. The Proceedings in Equity Bill was dropped, and Chancery reform was doomed to a fresh postponement.

In the meanwhile, attention was being directed in another quarter to the necessity for law reform. In February 1828 Brougham, rising with all the weight of a successful lawyer and a leading member of the Opposition, described, in a speech of extraordinary ability, the

Brougham's motion for law reform.

[1] Liverpool placed great pressure on Eldon to induce him to report "without further delay." *Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 565.

[2] The Report is in *Parliamentary Papers*, session 1826, vol. xv. The passages referred to in the text will be found on pp. 10, 11, 13, 24, 33, and 35.

[3] *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xlv. p. 469.

[4] *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xv. p. 1205.

[5] Ibid., vol. xxi. p. 1274.

anomalies and absurdities of the Common Law Courts.[1] In the course of it the orator travelled over most of the fields of jurisprudence, and insisted on the numerous defects and abuses which he detected in the system. For six hours he held his audience enchained by the superiority of his intellect and the fertility of his illustrations. A contemporary annalist, indeed, dismissed his oration with the reflection that it was not marked by "much accuracy of detail, profoundness of thought, or soundness of principle."[2] A cynical biographer declared that "it would not be justifiable to condemn any one actually to read it through;"[3] and in his next sentence, by his inexact description of it, proved that he had extended to himself the exemption which he had charitably offered to all others. But the speech which was thus satirised was regarded in a different light by those to whom it was addressed. The ministry agreed to issue commissions to inquire into the proceedings of the Common Law Courts and into the state of the law of real property; and Peel introduced a bill for remedying one of the great grievances which Brougham had exposed, and for facilitating the recovery of small debts.[4]

Peel as a law reformer.

Peel did not succeed in passing his measure through Parliament. The numerous officials who were interested in the Courts of Requests opposed a bill which would have interfered with their profits, and the measure was accordingly lost.[5] For nearly two years no serious attempt was made to introduce reform into the Courts of Law. In the course of 1830, however, the Commissions which had been appointed in 1828 duly reported; and Peel, fortified by these reports, again addressed himself to the subject which, during his tenure of the Home Office, he had made peculiarly his own. He succeeded in

[1] *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xviii. p. 127.

[2] *Ann. Reg.*, 1828, Hist., p. 110.

[3] Campbell's *Chancellors*, vol. viii. p. 357.

[4] The first suggestion for the establishment of County Courts was made by Althorp, in 1821. Ellenborough declared that it was not desirable to enable creditors to recover small debts at little cost. But the Ellenborough who made this remarkable declaration was the son of the Lord Chief-Justice, not the Lord Chief-Justice, as the late Sir D. le Marchant supposed. *Spencer*, p. 192; and cf. pp. 190, 195.

[5] *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xxi. p. 1166.

carrying, during the session, two important measures of law reform.[1] The first of them was suggested to him by his failure in 1828. The patent officers of the Courts of Requests had, in that year, proved too strong for the minister, and Peel accordingly concluded that the first step towards the reformation of the courts was the regulation of the patent offices. He proposed that the gentlemen holding them should render to the Common Law Commissioners an account of all their receipts during the previous ten years. The Commissioners, on this information, were to certify the value of each office to the Treasury; the fees attaching to the office were in future to be paid into the Exchequer; while the holder of each office was to receive from the Treasury a salary of the same amount as its certified value.[2]

Such was the first of the two measures of legal reform which Peel succeeded in passing in 1830. Practically it only substituted a payment by salary for a payment by fees. It did not reduce a single office; it did not effect a single economy; it did not introduce a single reform into the judicial system. Its immediate results were, therefore, small. Its sole importance lay in the facilities which it afforded to future reformers. Reforms could no longer be withstood by the interested exertions of a host of superfluous officers, because an easy and liberal method of compensating them had been provided by statute; and Parliament could accordingly proceed to deal with the Courts of Judicature without assailing the vested interests of influential placeholders. The second measure which Peel succeeded in carrying during the same session was of a different character. The Welsh Judicature had existed for centuries:

[1] It was in this session that Peel also introduced a measure for abolishing capital punishment for the more preventable forgeries. Mackintosh insisted on extending the exemption to every case except the forgery of wills, and carried an amendment to that effect by 151 votes to 138. *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xxv. p. 77. The decision was reversed in the Lords (ibid., p. 856), and the bill was, in consequence, dropped.

[2] In the event of the abolition of the office the holder was to receive as compensation an annuity not exceeding the whole amount, and not less than three-fourths of the amount of its certified value. The Act is the 11th Geo. IV. and 1st Wm. IV. c. 58.

every proposal for its removal had been vigorously resisted; but a select committee had been appointed to inquire into it in 1820,[1] and the Common Law Commissioners of 1828 had decided that its continuance was indefensible. In accordance with their recommendation Peel introduced a bill for its abolition, and for adding an additional judge to each of the three Superior Courts of Westminster. The bill passed through all its stages during the session of 1830 and became law.[2] The Tory party forbore from seriously opposing a measure which, a few years before, its members would have met with strenuous opposition. No one had a word to say in favour of the antiquated system which was thus abandoned; many persons had much to urge against its inconveniences and anomalies; and a new reform of the first importance was thus accomplished under the auspices of the great minister who had already done so much to remedy the graver defects of the Criminal Code and to consolidate the criminal law.

Thus ended Peel's efforts to reform the system of jurisprudence. Practical in all that he undertook, moderate in all that he proposed, he failed to create any extraordinary enthusiasm for his schemes; but he managed to avoid exciting any serious opposition to them. He fell; and the question of law reform passed, from his management, into the hands of his opponents. Brougham was a much more comprehensive reformer than Peel. He had no patience for little schemes of acknowledged utility. His restless energy was never satisfied without devising something greater, or attempting something harder, than had previously been suggested. At the commencement of the autumn session of 1830 he introduced into the House of Commons, in concert with Denman and Taylor, a measure for establishing Courts of

Brougham as a law reformer.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1820, Hist., p. 63.

[2] The Act is the 11th Geo. IV. and 1st Wm. IV. c. 70. Peel's speech, explaining all the reforms of the session, will be found in *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xxii. p. 650. The bill abolishing the Welsh Judicature (the Administration of Justice Bill) was introduced by the Attorney-General (Scarlett). Ibid., vol. xxiii. p. 53. See, for the subsequent debates upon it, ibid., vol. xxiv. pp. 104 and 1172; and vol. xxv. pp. 496 and 1164.

Local Jurisdiction.[1] Raised almost immediately afterwards to the Woolsack and a peerage, he presented a much more elaborate scheme of reform to the Lords. The reform was embraced in four bills: the first, to regulate the proceedings in the Court of Chancery; the second, to constitute a new court for bankruptcy cases; the third, to institute local courts; the fourth, to establish uniformity of process in the Superior Courts of Common Law. The first and third of these bills were lost; and their author, discouraged by the verdict of his brother peers, failed to persevere with them during his Chancellorship. The second and fourth became law.[2]

The bill for establishing uniformity of process in the Common Law Courts dealt with matters of too technical a nature to be explained at length in a history of this character.[3] It is sufficient to say that it abolished the complicated procedure which has been described on a previous page, and that it directed all actions to commence with the personal service of a summons on the defendant. The Bankruptcy Bill was a broader measure of reform. Up to 1830 all cases of bankruptcy in the metropolis were referred to a commission, comprising five or three commissioners, chosen from one of fourteen lists, kept by the Chancellor. Each list contained five names; the fourteen lists, therefore, contained seventy names. The commissioners were paid by fees. Their average receipts amounted to about £1000 a year; and their existence enabled the Government to provide seventy lawyers with comfortable situations worth a thousand a year each. Indirectly, moreover, the appointments were even more valuable. Any one of the commissioners was at liberty to

[1] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. i. p. 359.

[2] For the Local Courts Bill see *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. i. p. 706. Brougham proposed the constitution of courts, much on the model of the present County Courts, having jurisdiction in actions of debt, trespass, and trover under £100 (*vide* ibid., p. 729). He introduced a similar measure in 1833, and it was thrown out in the Lords (ibid., vol. xix. p. 372). For the details of his Chancery Reform Bill see *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. ii. p. 828; and vol. vii. p. 705.

[3] The Act passed in 1832 was the 2nd and 3rd Wm. IV. c. 39.

practice before any of the lists except his own.[1] Gentlemen who thus held judicial appointments in bankruptcy naturally succeeded in obtaining a large share of bankruptcy business.

Brougham's Bankruptcy Bill terminated this system at a blow. Instead of seventy commissioners he appointed ten judges. The first of them, chosen from the highest ranks of the profession, was made Chief Judge in Bankruptcy. The next three, chosen also from the higher ranks of the profession, had jurisdiction in disputed cases. The six junior judges, or commissioners, had the power of adjudicating where there was no dispute. If a dispute arose a junior judge was entitled to call to his assistance two other juniors or one of the seniors. If the court, which was thus constituted, failed to agree, the case was referred to the decision of the Chief Judge in Bankruptcy. The constitution of the new court, therefore, relieved the Chancellor from the labour of deciding in bankruptcy cases, and enabled him to devote a greater portion of his time to the ordinary business of the Court of Chancery. The change which was thus proposed was not carried without much debate. Hot-headed Tories like Wetherell, and keen partisans like Sugden, intimately acquainted with Chancery practice, raised every possible objection to the bill. Denman, who had charge of it, as Attorney-General, and who was unacquainted with Chancery proceedings, proved an unequal match for these assailants. Althorp himself thought that the bill must be abandoned, and it was only after repeated discussions that it became law. The bill, however, proved an imperfect measure. The new court made no provision for the local trial of country bankruptcies; and the machinery which it provided for the settlement of disputed cases proved needlessly cumbrous. Vacancies which occurred in the court were left consequently unfilled, and the scheme

[1] See, for all these statements, Brougham's speech, *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. ii. p. 845. It was of this speech that a county member said, "This is prodigiously fine: Brougham puts one in mind of Demosthenes, or some of those fellows one reads of at school." (See *Spencer*, p. 289, note.)

itself was subsequently cast aside for another reform introduced by another ministry.[1]

The successive efforts of Peel and Brougham had thus been instrumental in introducing considerable reforms into the Judicature. Peel had abolished the Welsh Judges, and terminated the system of fees in the Common Law Courts. Brougham had simplified and assimilated the procedure in the Superior Courts of Westminster, and had instituted a new tribunal for the decision of cases in bankruptcy. Peel had attempted comparatively little, but had accomplished the greater part of what he had undertaken. Brougham had devised a broader scheme of reform than Peel, but had failed in procuring acceptance for his more important proposals. The reforms which had been thus accomplished were far smaller than the necessity of the case required. The "great, signal, and striking anomaly"[2] which made the chief of the highest tribunal of the country a member of the ministry of the day was left unaltered; the "radical grievance"[3] of suitors in Chancery—the constant oscillation of their suits from the Masters to the Chancellor, and from the Chancellor to the Masters—was unremedied; and no competent courts were established for the speedy decision of small cases of debt. Men who were young in 1832 grew old before the last of these reforms was accomplished. Men who are still young may not possibly survive to see the completion of the first. But, with all their shortcomings, the reforms which were commenced by Peel, and which were supplemented by Brougham, were the earliest which were attempted in this country for the

[1] The debates on the Bankruptcy Bill will be found in *Hansard*, vol. vii. pp. 230–255, 495; and vol. viii. pp. 9, 560, 654, 725, 760, 781, 814, 866. For Althorp's opinion of Denman's inefficiency see *Brougham*, vol. iii. p. 128. For Denman's excuse, *Denman*, vol. i. p. 352. For Brougham's original explanation of his measure, *Hansard*, vol. ii. p. 828. The Bankruptcy Act is 1st and 2nd Wm. IV. c. 56.

[2] The expression is Brougham's. *Hansard*, vol. xiv. p. 1387.

[3] The phrase is Campbell's, in *Chancellors*, vol. viii. p. 387. Campbell, however, goes on to say that in 1832 the abolition of the Masters in Chancery "would have been considered as preposterous as a bill to abolish the satellites of Jupiter."

improvement of the Judicature, and invest with additional interest the period of progress which commenced with the reign of George IV.[1]

Important as were the reforms which were thus introduced into the Courts of Common Law and Equity, the alterations which were made in the Criminal Code were equally significant. Throughout his career at the Home Office, Peel was constantly occupied with the work of improving and consolidating the Criminal Code. He found it with the punishment of death prescribed for the gravest and the lightest crimes. He left it with the punishment of death reserved only for the worst offences. Benefit of clergy was, indeed, theoretically offered to every felon not expressly excluded from it; but the Statute Book had excepted almost every felony from the rule. Peel repealed an exception which had practically no meaning,[2] and at the same time terminated the punishment of death for a great many offences. When Peel left office the chief felonies for which death could be inflicted were murder, or attempted murder, rape, forgery, coining, highway robbery, cattle-stealing, arson, burglary, and housebreaking.[3] The change, which had thus been accomplished under the auspices of a single minister, is one of the most memorable reforms in the annals of the British nation. It affords one of the many enduring reasons for which the British people owe a debt of gratitude to Peel. But the change was really due to broader reasons than the wisdom

The Criminal Code.

[1] In addition to the reforms which have been related in the text Brougham, in 1832, introduced and carried a bill for the abolition of Chancery sinecures (2 and 3 Wm. IV. c. 111). He transferred the appeals in ecclesiastical cases from the old Court of Delegates to the Privy Council (c. 92, and *Hansard*, vol. xiv. p. 78), and he laid down new rules for the management of business in Chancery. (*Hansard*, vol. xiv. p. 1384.) In consequence of the abolition of sinecures in Chancery he provided a salary of £14,000 a year, and a retiring pension of £5000 a year, for the Chancellor. (Ibid., pp. 1018, 1263.) These arrangements became the subject of violent debate.

[2] See his speech, May 18, 1827, *Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 936.

[3] In housebreaking is also included larceny in a dwelling-house, which, technically, was a different offence. Capital punishment could also be inflicted for sacrilege, letter-stealing, returning from transportation, and some other offences.

and disposition of a single minister. Men revolted from the horrid punishments which their ancestors had favoured. The pillory had been practically abolished;[1] the stocks had been removed from London; the flogging of women had been forbidden;[2] and the flogging even of soldiers had become the subject of grave discussion. Good men, as well as advanced Radicals, were doubting the propriety of degrading a man for the purpose of preventing him from degrading himself.[3]

Cruel punishments were becoming unpopular, and many people were even thinking that the milder Criminal Code which Peel had originated was too severe. In 1832 the Legislature repealed the punishment of death for housebreaking, for horse and sheep stealing, and for coining false money;[4] the House of Commons decided on abolishing capital punishment in all cases of forgery.[5] The Lords, indeed, reduced the value of these reforms. They insisted on retaining death as the punishment for the forgery of wills, of powers of attorney, and of transfers of stock.[6] But these changes only slightly detracted from the significance of the measure which thus became law. The same men were still members of the Upper House of Parliament who had, for session after session, thwarted the wishes of reformers like Romilly. Yet the old arguments which had been raised at that time were no longer heard. The horrible Criminal Code, which princes, bishops, and judges were all agreed in supporting in 1822, hardly found a single advocate in 1832.

The kindlier disposition which was thus gradually producing a rapid reformation in manners, and which was affecting legis-

[1] It had been abolished in all cases, excepting perjury, by a bill introduced in 1816 by M. A. Taylor (*Hansard*, First Series, vol. xxxii. p. 803). In 1837 it was finally abolished in all cases, 7 Wm. IV. & 1 Vict. c. 23.

[2] *Vide ante*, vol. i. p. 179.

[3] See the debate on June 19, 1832, and the many extracts from a pamphlet, *A Voice from the Ranks*, "By John Shippe, late a Lieutenant in the 67th Foot." *Hansard*, vol. xiii. p. 874. In 1833 a motion for the abolition of flogging in the army was lost only by 151 votes to 140. (*Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 68).

[4] 2 and 3 Wm. IV. c. 34 and 62; and *Hansard*, vol. xiii. p. 195.

[5] 2 and 3 Wm. IV. c. 123; and *Hansard*, vol. xiv. p. 989.

[6] *Hansard*, vol. xiv. p. 1393.

lation, was naturally promoted by the continuance of peace. The habitual sight of suffering deadens the sensibilities, and the kindest hearts cease to be moved by misfortune when inured to the contemplation of it. Humanity had no chance of making many converts when men's minds were full of

> "Battles, sieges, fortunes . . . .
> Of moving accidents by flood and field."

Yet, throughout the whole of this period, a kinder feeling was gradually arising. Even the long war, and all the cruel punishments to which the people were accustomed, had not reconciled the best men in the nation to the contemplation of pain in others. Humanity was showing itself in the better treatment of dumb animals; and a certain class was no longer tolerating the constant cruelties daily perpetrated on faithful and inoffensive creatures. Only a hundred years ago the public opinion of the day thought there was nothing horrible in publicly advertising for a wretched horse that had been stolen as "having sores on his back."[1] Only fifty years ago the horses in the mail coaches, shifted as they broke down from overwork further and further into the quiet country districts, were mercilessly flogged through the heavy stages till their overtaxed nature sank under the excessive strain laid upon them. Cruelty to a faithful dumb animal was so habitual that it ceased to be shocking; and men fresh from the bull-ring or the cockpit had no pity for a horse. Yet, throughout the whole period, a few humane men were recognising the rights of even the humblest animals.

Cruelty to animals.

> "I'm truly sorry man's dominion
> Has broken Nature's social union,
> An' justifies that ill opinion
> Which makes thee startle
> At me, thy poor, earth-born companion
> An' fellow-mortal."

So Burns could write.

"I was never quite at ease," wrote Scott in 1825, "when I

[1] The advertisement, extracted from the *Birmingham Gazette*, will be found in Meteyard's *Wedgwood*, vol. i. p. 267.

had knocked down my blackcock; and, going to pick him up, he cast back his dying eye with a look of reproach."[1]

> "He prayeth best who loveth best
> All things, both great and small;
> For the dear God who loveth us
> He made and loveth all,"

was the noble appeal of Coleridge for the kinder treatment of animals.

Extracts of this character from the literature of the earlier years of the nineteenth century could be almost indefinitely multiplied. They abundantly testify to the more generous feeling that was gradually growing up among the best members of society. It is true that Byron, in his savage attack on society, satirised Coleridge for singing of the woes of a donkey, just as he abused Izaak Walton for fishing with a live frog. But Byron's denunciation of Coleridge's poetry did not blunt the humane tendency, which was one of the most pleasing characteristics of the time. On the contrary, soon after the accession of George IV. an appeal, for the first time, was made to Parliament for the protection of dumb animals. The man who had the merit of originating this appeal was Richard Martin, the member for the county of Galway. Martin was descended from one of the stout-hearted Puritans whom Cromwell quartered on Irish soil. Two hundred thousand acres of the most beautiful part of Galway were allotted to Martin's ancestor. These vast possessions, situated in one of the most inaccessible portions of the United Kingdom, gave the head of the family an almost princely authority among his tenantry and dependents; and recollection of the influence of the Martins is still cherished in a county where the family no longer holds a single acre. Martin, passionately fond of animals himself, was horrified at the habitual cruelty practised towards cattle both in Ireland and England. He was old enough to recollect the time when, in his own neighbourhood, the plough had been commonly fastened to the tail of the horse.[2] He could have seen in

Richard Martin.

[1] Lockhart's *Scott*, p. 538.

[2] Arthur Young's *Tour in Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 248, 286, 303.

any street in London wretched horses, with sore backs and galled shoulders, wincing under the strain which their merciless drivers, with whip and spur, put upon them. In 1823 Martin persuaded Parliament to pass a bill to prevent the wanton and cruel ill-treatment of horses and cattle.[1] The bill passed; and Martin desired to supplement it with another, prohibiting bull-baiting, dog-fighting, and other cruel sports. The people generally were alarmed at the extremes to which Martin was pushing his views. The prohibition of bull-baiting and dog-fighting seemed to them logically to lead to the prevention of hunting and shooting. Martin was told that the rich should not interfere with the sports of the poor; and he was not even allowed to introduce his bill.[2] In 1824, 1825, and 1826, Martin, undiscouraged by his defeat, renewed his efforts. But in every case he was unsuccessful.[3] The House of Commons steadily declined to listen or attend to Martin's annual advocacy of the cause of dumb animals.

Martin, however, was not discouraged by his parliamentary failure. The Legislature had, at any rate, interfered to prevent the ill-treatment of horses and cattle. A society was formed in London in 1824 for the prevention of cruelty to animals, and Martin himself remained in town during the autumn of 1825 to take personal steps to prevent the ill-treatment of cattle. His humane efforts were received with ridicule and reproaches. The Court of King's Bench, sharing the views of the country, formally "decided that bulls were not cattle, and were not therefore included in the Act of 1823." Martin was denounced by almost every newspaper. He was branded with the nickname, by which he is still best remembered, of "Cruelty" Martin.[4]

[1] 3 Geo. IV. c. 71.

[2] Leave was refused by 47 votes to 18. *Hansard*, New Series, vol. ix. p. 435.

[3] Ibid., vol. x. pp. 135, 496; xii. 1013; xiii. 1254; and xiv. 652, 1392. It is due to the memory of a great man to add that Lord Erskine had, in 1809, endeavoured to introduce a similar bill. It actually passed the Lords, two peers alone—Lord Redesdale and Lord Stanhope—opposing it; but was thrown out in the Commons, chiefly through the efforts of Windham.

[4] The decision of the Court of King's Bench is referred to in *Hansard*, New

Yet the principles which Martin was advocating were gradually making way. The majority of the public, indeed, still denied that the lower animals had any rights at all; but a constantly increasing minority was continually asserting that cruelty to a dumb creature deadened the sensibilities; and that the man who commenced life by ill-treating an animal was likely to end his career by a murderous assault on a man. These arguments, it so happened, were subsequently enforced by others of a different character. The scenes of brutality which were disclosed by Peel's Police Committee of 1828 did not admit of any excuses. It was proved that it was a common custom, in the East-end of London, to turn an ox into a street, bait it into madness, and hunt it to death. It was proved that the bear-gardens and cockpits of Western London were the habitual resort of the worst classes of the population. Those politicians, who had laughed at Martin's arguments on the rights of dumb animals, could not close their ears to an appeal for preserving the peace of London. An Act was passed in 1833 which made it illegal to drive any ox or cattle, to bait any bull, bear, badger, or other animal, or to fight cocks, within five miles of Temple Bar. The law which was thus made was two years afterwards extended to the whole country; and the cruel sports in which previous generations had indulged were everywhere put down.[1]

Series, vol. xix. p. 1121. The furious attack of the press upon Martin will be observed by merely turning over the pages of the various London newspapers of September 1825. The *Chronicle*—the leading Whig newspaper of the day—was foremost in the attack.

[1] The Act of 1833 was the 3rd and 4th Wm. IV. c. 19. See especially section 28. The clause was introduced by Pease, and opposed by the Government. (*Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 1067.) The Act of 1835 was the 5th and 6th Wm. IV. c. 59. It may be necessary to remind the present generation that bull-baiting was a different sport from ox-driving. In bull-baiting the bull was secured in the bull-ring, and dog after dog was sent at him. In ox-driving an ox, perhaps on its road to market, was driven into a side-street and baited by the population till it was killed:

> "The frightened beast ran through the town.
> All followed: boy and dad,
> Bulldog, parson, shopman, clown;
> The publicans rushed from the Crown.
> 'Halloa! hamstring him! cut him down!'
> They drove the poor ox mad."—Coleridge's *Sibylline Leaves.*

The prohibition of these sports forms, in its way, as remarkable an event in the history of the British nation as the passage of the Reform Bill or the emancipation of the Roman Catholics. It is a proof of a determination to put down the barbarous customs which had been fashionable in the "good old times when George the Third was king." But the sports which were thus prohibited did not all immediately cease. Bull-baiting, indeed, from its nature was capable of immediate suppression. A public spectacle, in a crowded neighbourhood, in the open air, necessarily attracted the attention of the police. Ox-driving was with more difficulty put down. An ox could at any moment be separated from a herd on its way to market; and, when once the infuriated beast was let loose in a town, the sport could only cease with its capture or death. It required, in some instances, the interference of the military before this brutal practice finally ceased. Cock-fighting, being conducted under cover, in private premises, was stopped with even more difficulty. Men in a high rank of life were not ashamed to ask their friends to what they were pleased to call "poultry shows;" and a main of cocks was fought almost publicly in London nearly twenty years after cock-fighting had been declared illegal.

Brutal sports had been openly defended in Parliament, on the ground that their suppression would logically lead to the prohibition of shooting and hunting. Afraid of any interference with their own sports, Members of Parliament rallied in defence of the sports of the poor. Their efforts were vain. The Game Laws were reconstituted before even bull-baiting or cattle-driving was put down. Cruel sports were suppressed by a reformed Parliament. The Game Laws were remodelled by an unreformed Legislature.

The Game Laws.

Up to 1831 no one who was not a qualified person was at liberty to kill game; no one, whether he were qualified or not, was at liberty to sell game. The younger son of a gentleman with £20,000 a year was not qualified to kill game. The king's younger sons, if they did not happen to possess a qualification, were not entitled to kill game; and the most

distinguished foreigners could not legally go out shooting. There was, indeed, one method by which the law could be evaded. The bad statute of a bad Parliament,[1] which originated the system, enabled lords of the manor not under the degree of esquire to appoint gamekeepers in their respective manors; and the gamekeepers were entitled not only to preserve but also to kill game. Country gentlemen who were desirous of doing a neighbour a good turn were in the habit of giving him a "deputation" as a gamekeeper; and instances may be found in which even the curate of a parish thus obtained a legal right to go out shooting.[2]

Game, then, could only legally be shot by the limited number of persons who possessed certain qualifications. Game could not legally be sold by any person whatever. The law, when it was originally made, was not, probably, very burdensome. There were no means of rapid transport available, and a perishable commodity like game could not be carried for any long distance. In remote districts people only preserved as much game as they required for their own table; and, so little anxiety had they to increase the number, that pheasants' eggs were considered a favourite food.[3] Improved roads and fast coaches made it possible to convey game long distances. The luxurious habits of a wealthy generation created a demand for game; and, in defiance of the law,[4] game was, in consequence, regularly sold. The sale was encouraged by a further anomaly

[1] The obnoxious statute was the 22nd and 23rd Charles II. c. 25.

[2] Among the MSS. of the Borlase family, in the possession of Mr. Cornish, of Penzance, is a letter, dated 12th January 1750–51, from George Borlase to Lieutenant-General Onslow, M.P.: "Mr. Penneck has been with me, times out of number, for a deputacôn as gamekeeper; and, as you can appoint but one, and the thing is quite out of my way, I wish you would execute the enclosed, and send me that I may get him enrolled at the Sessions to make him easy." Mr. Penneck, who thus qualified himself for shooting, was the curate of Penzance!

[3] Law, in his *Serious Call*, says of Succus, one of his creations, that he is very loyal. "Nothing could put rebellious thoughts into his head unless he should live to see a proclamation against eating pheasants' eggs." Law's Works, vol. iv. p. 200.

[4] Peel, on the 11th March 1824, said there had not been a conviction for five years for selling game in Bristol, Liverpool, or Glasgow, and only four convictions in Manchester. *Hansard*, New Series, vol. x. p. 915.

in the law. A man who sold game was liable to a penalty; but the man who bought game was liable to no penalty whatever. An attempt was made, at an early period of the present century, to remove this distinction. Bankes, in 1818, brought in a bill to prevent the purchase of game. The bill was supported by men like Romilly, who objected to the Game Laws, but who objected still more to a legislative distinction between rich and poor. Thus supported the bill became law.[1] An unfortunate householder who bought a brace of partridges for his dinner was thenceforward liable to a penalty of £10.

Such a law could not, by any possibility, remain unquestioned for any lengthened period. Thousands of persons were desirous of buying game. Game was habitually sold; no notice was taken of the constant infraction of the law; and the most respectable classes of the community openly bought game in defiance, or perhaps in ignorance, of the statute of 1818. Even the most advanced Tories could not be contented with a system which imposed no discouragement on the poacher; Liberal politicians, opposed to harsh and unnecessary laws, were profoundly dissatisfied with it. From 1824 to 1831, when the system was finally terminated, attempts were annually made in Parliament to amend it. Two men, of different opinions, attempted to originate a better code. Stuart Wortley was a Yorkshire magnate, whose moderate views, after he had been raised to the peerage, made him one of the chief leaders of the waverers. Lord Salisbury, on the contrary, was a Tory peer, prepared to regard the questions of the day from an exclusively Tory standpoint. Stuart Wortley desired to allow every landlord to permit any one to shoot on his own land, and to remove the restrictions on the sale of game. Salisbury, on the contrary, proposed to allow qualified persons to sell game to licensed dealers. Stuart Wortley's bill passed the Commons in 1825, and was thrown out in the Lords. Salisbury's alternative passed the Lords in 1828, but was thrown out in the Commons. Years were apparently

[1] The Act is 58th Geo. III. c. 75. An abstract of the debates on it will be found in *Ann. Reg.*, 1818, Hist., p. 133. Cf. *Romilly*, vol. iii. p. 345.

likely to elapse before these differences were composed, and the Game Laws, a dying relic of the "good old times," were formally abolished.[1]

This result might have actually occurred if the subject had not been entrusted to stronger and better management than that of Stuart Wortley and Salisbury. In 1830, Althorp, who had just succeeded to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and the leadership of the House of Commons, introduced a measure on the subject. A country gentleman, intensely fond of field sports,[2] could enunciate a liberal game code without arousing the suspicions of the country gentlemen. Althorp desired to repeal the laws which prevented nearly every one, who was not either a landowner or his heir-apparent, from going out shooting; and which forbade the sale and purchase of game. Instead of these restrictions he proposed that no one should be allowed to kill or sell game without a licence from the Inland Revenue Department. The bill which he thus introduced was lost by the dissolution of 1831. Brought, immediately afterwards, into the new Parliament, time was found amidst the discussions on the Reform Bill to pass it through all its stages in the House of Commons, and to send it to the Peers. The Peers showed a little more wisdom than Charles X. had displayed a year before. It is said that the King of France, passing a night at Rambouillet, in his flight from Paris, was horrified at his Gardes du Corps scattering through his park and killing his pheasants. "Ce fut une des plus vives douleurs de Charles X. . . . Le chasseur se retrouvait presque inconsolable dans le roi résigné."[3] The Peers did not make the same mistake. They were so zealous against Reform that they gave up their game. Intent on defeating

[1] The debates on Stuart Wortley's bill will be found in *Hansard*, New Series, vol. x. pp. 902, 926; xi. 9; xiii. 453. Those on Lord Salisbury's bill in ibid., vol. xvii. pp. 980, 1302; xviii. 359; and xix. 596. Lord Salisbury's chief opponent was Stuart Wortley, who had been raised to the peerage as Lord Wharncliffe. Lord Wharncliffe introduced his own bill again in 1828. Ibid., vol. xix. p. 1690.

[2] Lord Althorp's love of hunting requires no proof. For his fondness for shooting see, *inter alia*, *Spencer*, p. 147.

[3] *L'Histoire de dix Ans*, vol. i. p. 402.

the Reform Bill they did not venture to widen the inevitable breach between the Commons and themselves by rejecting Althorp's bill. The Game Bill in consequence was permitted to become law,[1] and one more remnant of an antiquated system was thus abolished.

It so happened that the country gentlemen were deprived of an antiquated privilege at about the same time. They were no longer allowed the exclusive right to defraud their creditors. Romilly had vainly endeavoured to induce the Legislature to subject freehold estates to the payment of simple contract debts;[2] and Althorp, who had the honesty to make a similar proposal, had the mortification to find that even Liberal peers[3] were opposed to the removal of "one of the few feudal privileges that remained to the landed aristocracy." The country gentlemen were, in consequence, enabled to retain their singular position for another dozen years. The extraordinary alteration, however, which was gradually effected in the views of politicians proved fatal to the exclusive privileges of the landed classes. In 1830 an Act was passed rendering the inheritor of any property who sold his estate liable to the debts upon it to the full value of the realty which he sold. In 1833 a short Act of a single section subjected real estate to the payment of simple contract debts. This reform, which had been rejected when it was proposed by Romilly, was carried at the instance of Romilly's son.[4]

Real property made liable to simple contract debts.

Changes of this character naturally altered the position of the landed classes. At the commencement of the century they had stood apart from the rest of their fellow-countrymen, proud of their position, proud of their power, proud of their

[1] The Act is the 1st and 2nd Wm. IV. c. 32. The debates on it are in *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. ii. pp. 594–601; v. 906; vi. 1063; vii. 129.

[2] *Romilly*, vol. iii. p. 252.

[3] *Spencer*, p. 185.

[4] The Act of 1830 is the 11th Geo. IV. and 1st Wm. IV. c. 47. It was a complicated statute. The inheritor to the real estate was able to plead "riens by descent," and a complicated issue had to be tried before the creditor received anything. (See sections 6 and 7.) The Act of 1833 was the 3rd and 4th Wm. IV. c. 104. It was introduced by Romilly's son John, the first Lord Romilly. (*Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 369; and vol. xviii. p. 106.)

privileges. A man who was neither a landowner nor related to a landowner could hardly claim to be a gentleman, or hope to obtain admission to the society of gentlemen. Before a third of the century was over the landowner's position was altered; his power was gone, his privileges were abolished. His order had been worsted in the struggle for existence by other and newer ranks of society; and men like Sir Compton Delaval, with pedigrees as long as a Welshman's, were reluctantly compelled to pretend that they were "proud to rank" sons of tradespeople, like "Mr. Avenel, amongst the gentlemen of the county."[1] The change which was thus effected was, in its way, as remarkable as the more evident and better known reforms which were accomplished during the same period. It is impossible to understand the political revolution of 1832 without noticing the social revolution which preceded and occasioned it.

The decreasing power of the landed classes.

It must not, however, be imagined that the landed gentlemen formed the only persons whose privileges were destroyed by the legislation of the first thirty-three years of the nineteenth century. Monopolies of every kind and of every character were questioned, and, in some instances, terminated. The Church was compelled to admit Roman Catholics and Dissenters to the offices which her own children had previously monopolised. The trading classes were forced to allow foreign vessels to participate in the advantages of British commerce. Foreign silk and other foreign goods were no longer excluded from British markets.

The concurrent termination of other monopolies.

A generation acquainted with the writings of Adam Smith objected to the necessities of the many being sacrificed for the sake of ensuring the prosperity of the few; and the principles of free trade were, in consequence, enforced in almost every rank of life. One of the most curious illustrations of this fact is to be found in the alteration of the dramatic laws. Even in so subsidiary a matter as the regulation of the Stage

[1] See the scene in the 19th chapter of Lytton's *My Novel*. The words in the text are Sir Compton Delaval's own, on proposing Mr. Avenel's health.

the growing preference for free trade proved too strong for the dying system of protection.

The Drama.

It may, perhaps, be necessary to remind the present generation that, in 1832, the legitimate drama could only legally be performed in two theatres in Westminster; and that a little more than a hundred years ago no play could legally be acted in any other town in Great Britain. Monopoly in the drama dates from the bad reign of Charles II. Two theatrical companies were licensed in London soon after the Restoration; but these companies were united in 1682, and became known as The Theatre Royal Drury Lane. For thirteen years Drury Lane was the only theatre in London. In 1695 a patent was granted to a rival company, established originally in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which migrated to Covent Garden in 1733.[1] Other theatres were gradually opened during the eighteenth century. But the patents of the two Royal theatres secured them a monopoly in the representation of the legitimate drama: they were constantly described as "the houses," to the exclusion of the minor theatres.

> "The town resorts to either house,
> To praise the rival Lears,"

wrote the author of the epigram on Garrick.

> "Next came the Treasurer of either house,"

wrote Churchill, in the "Rosciad."

The Crown, however, was enabled to license other theatres for the performance of "interludes," or farces, and other pieces. Restricted from performing the legitimate drama, the minor theatres were necessarily compelled to rely on other sources of attraction. In an age of unbridled license objects of attraction assumed a character which shocked the moral portion of the community. Grossly immoral plays were placed on the stage, and profanity and obscenity became possible because, with the reopening of the playhouses, the control which had been previously exercised over them was practically removed. In Tudor and Stuart times a high

[1] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ad. verb. "Drama," vol. vii. p. 434.

official in the Court, the Abbot of Misrule—to quote his original name—or the Master of the Revels, as he was ultimately called, was empowered to exercise a control over the license of the Stage. After the Restoration the Master of the Revels endeavoured to resume his former authority; but he received no support from the Court. With a short exception in the reign of William III., the players were practically freed from control; and, in the commencement of George the First's reign, a patent was granted to Steele, Cibber, and Booth, which exempted their plays from the revision of any official.

It could not be expected that the sober-minded portion of the nation would tolerate with patience the unrestricted license which disgraced the Stage. Attempts were occasionally made to introduce some sort of control into the theatre. At length, in 1735, Sir John Barnard, a member of character and position, brought a bill into Parliament "to restrain the number of playhouses for the playing of interludes." Walpole, who was minister at the time, persuaded the House to engraft a clause on the bill empowering the Lord Chamberlain to license plays, and to exercise the authority of the Master of the Revels. The clause was agreed to; but Barnard, objecting to any increase in the authority of the Chamberlain, withdrew his bill.

The failure of Parliament to apply any effectual remedy to the license of the Stage encouraged dramatists and actors to persevere in the course which was, unfortunately, filling the theatres. Fielding, in particular, exceeded his other contemporaries in the eagerness with which he ridiculed all that was respectable in society. "Religion, laws, government, priests, judges, and ministers" were satirised in "Pasquin;" and the necessity for some control became plainer than ever after this exhibition of unrestricted license. Encouraged by the success of "Pasquin," Fielding, or some other author,[1] wrote, and offered to the proprietor of the Goodman's Fields Theatre, a

[1] The authorship of "The Golden Rump" is not certain, though it is attributed by Horace Walpole to Fielding.

farce called "The Golden Rump." "The Golden Rump" was too plain-spoken even for the then manager of a theatre. The manager of the Goodman's Fields Theatre gave up the manuscript to Walpole, who showed it privately to members on both sides of the House. They promised to co-operate with him in a bill to restrain the license of the Stage, and Walpole accordingly introduced the measure which is known in history as the Playhouse Bill.

The Playhouse Bill is an excellent example of the legislation of the eighteenth century. It is a measure for the regulation of playhouses; but it is called "An Act to amend an Act for reducing the laws relating to rogues and vagabonds into one Act of Parliament." In olden times unlicensed players had been dealt with as rogues and vagabonds. It had only recently been decided that a player who happened to be a householder did not come within the Vagrant Act, and was, therefore, subject to no law whatever. Walpole, therefore, proposed to prohibit all theatrical performances except those which were under letters patent from the Crown, or which were licensed by the Lord Chamberlain, and to allow the representation of no new play without the Lord Chamberlain's leave. Persons offending against the first part of the Act who had no legal settlement were to be treated as rogues and vagabonds. Persons who had a legal settlement offending against the first part of the Act, and all persons placing unlicensed plays on the stage, were subjected to a penalty of £50. So far Walpole himself was willing to go. Barnard, reverting to the proposal which he had made two years before, wished to go further. He persuaded the House to add a clause to the bill prohibiting the licensing of any theatre except within the limits of Westminster, or in any place in which the king happened to be residing.[1] Sir John Barnard's amendment completely altered the character of Walpole's measure.

Monopoly in the Drama.

[1] The best short account of the Playhouse Bill is in Coxe's *Sir R. Walpole*, vol. i. pp. 510–518. Cf. Lecky's *History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 538, where there is an interesting account of the Drama. But Mr. Lecky fails to distinguish between the policy of Walpole and Barnard. The Playhouse Bill is 10th Geo. II. c. 28.

Walpole had simply proposed to introduce order and decency into the theatres. Barnard had effectually restricted the number of playhouses. No one who was not within reach of Westminster, or of some place at which the Crown was temporarily residing, had any expectation of seeing a drama. Such a result was barely tolerable in the melancholy atmosphere of Puritan England: it was intolerable to the contented England of the eighteenth century. Edinburgh, Newcastle, Kingston, Bath, York, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Chester, Margate, and Glasgow all applied to Parliament for leave to open theatres. Many other places, which could not afford the expense of obtaining an Act of Parliament for the purpose, urged in other ways their claims for a similar relaxation of the law. The law was soon relaxed. In 1742 the magistrates were empowered to open any house in the metropolis for dancing, music, or other public entertainment.[1] But the license did not extend to dramatic performances. At last, in 1788, the Legislature authorised the magistrates in Quarter Sessions to license for limited periods any theatre more than twenty miles from London, or more than eight miles from a licensed theatre, for the performance of plays performed in the two patent theatres in Westminster.[2]

The Act of George II. had closed the theatres. The Act of George III. had reopened the country playhouses. In London, outside Westminster, no such relaxation was allowed, and Londoners who desired to see a regular drama were compelled to choose between the two patent theatres in Drury Lane and Covent Garden. The law, however, was never enforced very strictly. The players resorted to many devices for the purpose of evading it.

> "Shuter keeps open house at Southwark fair,
> And hopes the friends of humour will be there;
> In Smithfield, Yates prepares the rival treat
> For those who laughter love, instead of meat;

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[1] 25 Geo. II. c. 36.

[2] 28 Geo. III. c. 30. But cf. *Rex* v. *Neville*, Barn. & Adolph. Reports, i 489. The case is inaccurately cited in Tomlins's *Law Dict.* (ad. verb. "Play houses") as *Rex* v. *Kemble*.

Foote, at Old House—for even Foote will be,
In self-conceit, an actor—bribes with tea;
Which Wilkinson, at second-hand, receives,
And at the New pours water on the leaves."

Thus dramatic performances in London, except at the patent theatres, could only take place with a Chamberlain's license, and the Chamberlain's license only authorised the playing of "burlettas." An elastic meaning was, indeed, attached to the word "burlettas." It was argued that any piece accompanied with music became a burletta; and it was stated that even "Othello" had been performed, a musician striking occasionally a chord on a piano to keep the performance within the law.[1] The Playhouse Act was, in fact, only tolerable because it was not obeyed. In 1832, however, a strong probability arose that the law would be enforced. Four years before, the manager of the Cobourg Theatre, in London, was fined £100 for playing "Richard the Third."[2] The lessee of a theatre in Manchester was summoned and convicted for playing the "Barbiere di Seviglia" without a license; and the conviction was confirmed by the Court of King's Bench.[3] About the same time the case of one of the two patent theatres, which was in a bankrupt condition, came before the Court of Chancery; and the Chancellor formally decided that the minor theatres were infringing the patent rights of Drury Lane and Covent Garden.[4] These decisions made it no longer possible to ignore the monopolies of the patent theatres. Every one, however, who was interested in the drama was desirous of terminating these monopolies. Monopoly had, as usual, failed to effect its real objects; and the stage which had been graced by Garrick and Mrs. Siddons was commonly occupied with jugglers and wild beasts. Every Londoner who wished to see Shakespeare acted was compelled by law to go either to Drury Lane or Covent Garden; and the

[1] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. xiii. p. 254.
[2] *Ann. Reg.*, 1828, Chron., p. 100.
[3] *Rex* v. *Neville*, Bar. & Adolph., vol. i. p. 489.
[4] *Hansard*, vol. xiii. pp. 248, 253.

managers of these theatres, instead of preparing a regular play, gave their audiences a couple of lions and a diorama.[1]

Such had been the results of monopoly in the playhouse. Before the session of 1832 was over the monopoly was attacked by a young man who had already acquired some distinction in the world, and who ultimately obtained a still higher reputation. Edward Lytton Bulwer was the youngest son of General Bulwer. His mother, Miss Lytton, was the heiress to Knebworth, an estate in Hertfordshire. Bulwer was born in 1805, and displayed a precocious ability which induced him to turn author in his teens. His first ambitious work, after he attained years of discretion, was not successful. The morals of "Falkland," as the book was called, did not commend it to sober-minded people. The book was forgotten; and Bulwer, recovering from his disappointment, threw himself into "Pelham." "Pelham" is by no means the best of its author's works. Its characters do not talk the language of ordinary society, or read the books which are read by ordinary men. Vincent lolls on the sofa with "Plato" instead of a novel in his hand; criticises Schlegel, refers approvingly to "Mimnermus," compares Byron with the oracle of Dodona, and anticipates for himself the career of Halifax.[2] It is easy to excuse the bewildered "reader" who, after glancing at such extravagant dialogue, condemned the book. But the extravagances of "Pelham," and even the tone of indifference to morality which pervades it, were compensated by the skill with which its characters were portrayed, and the brilliancy of its narrative. "Pelham" rapidly gained the favour of the reading public, and Edward Bulwer found himself a lion in society. It was natural for a clever young man to seek, and obtain, admission into the unreformed House of Commons. It was equally natural for the author of "Pelham" to desire to connect himself with the Liberal or Whig party. Edward Bulwer was introduced to the Whig leaders, and, at the general election of 1831, became the Whig member for St. Ives. In

Edward Lytton Bulwer.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xiii. p. 241; and cf. *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Chron., p. 164.

[2] *Pelham*, chap. xliii.

1832, speaking almost as a new member, he attacked the monopolies of the patent theatres.[1]

Bulwer had the satisfaction of carrying his point. Stout Tories, indeed, like Wetherell, still clung desperately to the dying system of protection, and resisted a motion which assailed the prerogatives of the Crown and the monopolies of patentees. But Wetherell's arguments obtained little support in the enthusiastic House of Commons elected under the auspices of Grey. A select committee was appointed on Bulwer's motion,[2] and agreed, before the close of the session, on a report. The committee thought[3] that the monopolies of Drury Lane and Covent Garden had "neither preserved the dignity of the drama" nor "been of direct advantage" to the monopolists themselves. The number of playhouses, in the committee's opinion, should depend on the demand for theatrical entertainments, and the principle of free trade should be introduced into the department of the Lord Chamberlain.

Some years elapsed before the report of the committee was acted on.[4] Parliament, in the interval, had other work to accomplish than the regulation of playhouses. But the committee's report, nevertheless, forms a remarkable proof of the change which was gradually occurring in the public opinion of the day. The increasing distrust of monopolies, and the growing preference for free trade, were affecting the playhouses, just as they had already affected the position of country gentlemen. The same influences were slowly undermining the supremacy of the Church. Liberal men were, indeed, vainly urging in Parliament the moral right of the Jews to a share in political power;[5] but the City was, at last, awakening to the force of the claim which the Legislature

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xiii. p. 239.

[2] Ibid., vol. xiii. p. 259.

[3] *Ann. Reg.*, 1832, Chron., p. 294.

[4] The bill which Bulwer himself introduced to give effect to it (*Hansard*, vol. xvi. p. 561) was thrown out in the Lords (ibid., vol. xx. p. 277), and again in 1834 (ibid., vol. xxiv. p. 912).

[5] See *Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 205; and for Macaulay's maiden speech Trevelyan's *Macaulay*, vol. i. p. 159.

refused. The richest man in London was a Jew; the richest man in Paris was the brother of the richest man in London; and Cæsar in Vienna was making Jews Barons of the Empire.[1] The House of Commons might close its door to the Jews. The House of Lords might still devise new expedients for excluding the Jews from office and influence.[2] But great corporations could no longer ignore the existence of a race who could control the money market. In 1785 an intolerant Court of Aldermen had decided that even Jews who had adopted the principles of Christianity should not be admitted to the freedom of the City. The rule which was thus laid down was followed for more than forty years; and, during the whole of that period, even converted Jews were excluded from the rights of citizenship. At last, in 1828, the City realised the intolerance of its proceeding, and agreed to admit baptized Jews to the privileges of citizenship.[3] It is, perhaps, worth while to observe that this decision—the first approach to a better and more liberal system—was formed in the same year in which the House of Lords, while relieving Dissenters from their disabilities, imposed a fresh disability upon the Jews.

Monopolies in religion. The Jews.

The parliamentary struggle for the emancipation of the Jews will be related in a later chapter. In this place it is sufficient to state that in 1832 a Jew, for the first time in British history, was called to the Bar; that in 1836 a Jew was elected Governor of Christ's Hospital; and that in 1837 one of the Sheriffs of London was able to remark that his predecessor as well as his successor in office had both been Jews.[4] The Jew was thus admitted to some of the privileges in which previous generations had confirmed the children of the Established Church. The Church, in its turn, was losing some of the advantages which had previously been conferred on it. In Canada, for instance, the Church in 1791 succeeded in securing a grant of one-seventh of all the settled land.

The Church in Canada.

[1] See Eva's argument, in *Tancred*, book iii. ch. iv.
[2] *Ante*, vol. ii. p. 380.
[3] *Ann. Reg.*, 1828, Chron., p. 27.
[4] *Hansard*, vol. xxxix. p. 510. Stanley's *Arnold*, vol. ii. p. 23.

Three millions of acres were allotted to her under this grant. But the prodigal concession, which almost ruined the colony, proved of very little service to the Church. The dead hand fell with a crushing weight on the Province; and, with a few exceptions, the "clergy reserves," as the Church lands were called, remained wild and uncultivated.[1] The Church had in consequence to look elsewhere for her sustenance, and the expense of the ecclesiastical establishment in Canada was defrayed out of the revenues of the United Kingdom. Even Tory ministers, however, seem to have realised the injustice of taxing the Irish Roman Catholic and the Scotch Presbyterian for the support of the bishops and clergy of the Church of England, and to have taken steps to conceal a grant which they were determined to maintain. The cost of the Church Establishment in Canada was defrayed out of the vote for army extraordinaries. Grey's ministry declined to continue such a system, and the whole cost of the Church Establishment was transferred to the miscellaneous estimates. A distinct pledge was, however, given that, as the clergymen died off, their places should not be filled up, and that the colony should, in future, provide for its own spiritual necessities.

By the termination of this arrangement Grey's ministry struck a fresh blow at monopolies. The Church was being gradually deprived of the privileges which she had hitherto exclusively enjoyed, and, as a matter of course, was no longer permitted to appropriate to her own uses money voted by the Legislature for military purposes. There was, however, another body which enjoyed even greater privileges than the Church. The eleven hundred noblemen and gentlemen who composed the two Houses of Parliament had advantages which were shared by no other members of the community. In 1832 a member of Parliament could not be arrested for debt; a member of Parliament might set the authority of the Ecclesiastical Courts

Privileges in Parliament.

1 See Lord Durham's *Report on Canada*, Parliamentary Papers, 1839, vol. xvii. p. 77.

at defiance. It may be necessary, in the present generation, to explain the consequences of these privileges.

Up to 1770 a member of Parliament not only enjoyed immunity from arrest, but his own goods, as well as those of his servants, were free from distress.[1] These exemptions naturally led to abuse. The law was accordingly altered. The privileges of a member were not allowed to extend either to his servant or to his property, and personal freedom from arrest was the only exemption which was left to him. Freedom from arrest.

Freedom from arrest was, however, a matter of no small importance. Any debtor who was not in Parliament was liable to arrest. A member of the Legislature was exempted from the law. In a reformed Parliament his exemption would not have involved much serious inconvenience. Seats in Parliament could not be purchased by the highest bidder, and an insolvent could not, consequently, command a place in the House of Commons. But, in the unreformed House of Commons, any person who had the assurance to do so could purchase a seat; he might turn insolvent the day after his election and save himself from arrest. In that event he could leave the country at his leisure, and then vacate the seat which he had temporarily occupied. There was not even much expense attending this course. The seat which the debtor purchased was usually saleable for the sum which he had given for it; and the debtor had, therefore, only to sacrifice the interest on a few thousand pounds for a few weeks. Such a method of evading a creditor,[2] incredible as it may seem, was so common, that mention of it hardly excited surprise. In 1819, however, the ingenuity of an insolvent turned it to an account for which even an unreformed Legislature was unprepared.[3] A debtor, lying in the Fleet, with debts amounting to £7600, was elected for Beverley. His election opened his prison-doors, when, instead of repairing to his parliamentary duties, he departed from the country.[4] The anecdote (which has, perhaps, been

[1] May's *Const. History*, vol. i. p. 447.
[2] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. iii. p. 1060. [3] May's *Parl. Practice*, p. 126.
[4] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. x. p. 330. It will be recollected that Stapylton

entirely forgotten) is worth reviving, as an instructive commentary on the system which was destroyed for ever by the Reform Bill of 1832.

The passage of the Reform Bill made it virtually impossible for an insolvent to escape his creditors by purchasing a seat in Parliament. But there was another privilege which members of Parliament enjoyed, and of which the passage of the Reform Bill alone would not have deprived them. The Ecclesiastical Courts had jurisdiction in cases of probate and divorce. But the Ecclesiastical Courts had no power to enforce their decrees against a member of the Legislature. If a man died and left a charge on his estate in favour of his second son, his elder son, if he were in Parliament, might refuse to produce the will. If a member of Parliament were condemned to pay the costs of a suit before the courts he could refuse to pay them.[1] The good sense of Lords and Commons had, however, hitherto rendered the privilege meaningless. In 1832 the intemperance of an ill-advised nobleman made it a reality. Lord Westmeath had the misfortune to quarrel with his wife. Like many other quarrelsome people, Lord and Lady Westmeath had not the prudence to compose their differences at home. Arbitration was attempted; but the arbitrators failed to terminate the quarrel. A suit was commenced in the Court of Arches. It was carried from the Court of Arches to the High Court of Delegates; and, if Westmeath had been allowed his way, it would have been carried to a Commission of Review. The High Court of Delegates, however, refused Westmeath's request, and condemned him to pay the costs of the suit. Westmeath, in addition to losing his suit, had by this time lost his temper; and, falling back on his privileges as a peer, declined to pay a farthing of his costs. It was in vain that Brougham advised him to settle the dispute. Westmeath was too angry to take advice. Brougham, foiled in his purpose, introduced a bill to

Costs in the Ecclesiastical Courts.

Toad vacated his seat for Mounteney in favour of "Augustus Clay, who was so involved that the only way to keep him out of the House of Correction was to get him into the House of Commons."—*Vivian Grey*, book ii. ch. xv.

[1] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. xiv. p. 142.

take away the singular privilege which members of Parliament possessed, of defying the Ecclesiastical Courts; and, notwithstanding Westmeath's opposition, the bill became law.[1]

The passage of this bill testifies to the change which was gradually being introduced into the views of English public men. Only seventeen years had passed since the close of the war; only ten years had passed since the death of Londonderry; and the England of 1832 was hardly comparable with the England of 1815. It is not too much to say that, in 1815, legislation had been directed to secure the advantage of a class. In 1832 legislation was directed to secure the greatest happiness of the greatest number. In the interval the sinecures which had been maintained for the benefit of the upper classes had been abolished; learning, instead of birth, had become the usual passport to the Bench; public officers had been required to do their own duties instead of discharging them by deputies, and useless offices, maintained as convenient provisions for the younger children of politicians, had been abolished. The disabilities, which had affected whole classes of the population in 1815, had been swept away. The doors of St. Stephen's had been opened to the Roman Catholic; every office had been opened to the Dissenter; the citizenship of London had been conferred on a baptized Jew. A few thousand persons were no longer permitted to monopolise the political power of the State. The franchise had been entrusted to the great middle class in the boroughs: it had been extended to occupiers in counties. Owners of rotten boroughs had been obliged to submit to the destruction of their property, since the greatest happiness of the greatest number required that it should be destroyed. The same principle had interfered with the privileges of Parliament and the privileges of landowners. Members of Parliament were no longer allowed to set the Ecclesiastical Courts at defiance; landowners were no longer allowed a statutory right to defraud their creditors; they

The contrast between the England of 1815 and 1832.

[1] The Act is 2nd and 3rd Wm. IV. c. 93. For the debates on it see *Hansard*, vol. xiv. pp. 141, 207, 1128.

were no longer allowed to retain the exclusive privilege of killing game. The same principle, introduced into commercial legislation, had modified the Navigation Laws, had reformed the Commercial Code, and had recast the laws of labour. The same principle, carried into the Foreign Office, had taught Canning to resist autocracy and to support the cause of struggling nationalities. The same principle, extended to the unfortunate, the outcast, and the criminal, had relieved the Criminal Code of its harsher features, and had abolished cruel punishments. The same principle, carried into the Law Courts, had led to the first real measures of law reform. The maxims taught by Adam Smith and Bentham had sunk into the hearts of the rising generation, and had revolutionised the principles on which parliamentary government in Britain had been previously conducted.

Exceptions from the universal progress.

There were, however, two important respects in which the country had reaped no advantages. While every other class was becoming better off the condition of the labouring poor was becoming more and more hopeless. While every other portion of the country was becoming wealthier and happier Ireland alone was the constant scene of misery and disturbance. To the labourer the precepts of economists and reformers had brought no gain. On the Irishman they had conferred the solitary advantage of a Roman Catholic representative in Parliament. In every other respect the Irishman and the labourer had nothing to look forward to. Miserably poor, miserably dependent, crushed by the load of the day, without hope of a brighter morrow, they brooded over their wretched lot, from which there was no prospect of relief.

The labouring poor.

For many years the condition of the labouring classes in Britain had been growing more and more intolerable. The old conditions of labour had been changed, and the labourer had suffered from the change. Before the latter half of the eighteenth century the great mass of the labouring poor had been scattered throughout the country, owing an almost feudal allegiance to, and deriving some

corresponding advantages from, the neighbouring landlord. But the discoveries of the eighteenth century terminated these conditions. The manufacturing industries of the country were collected into a few great centres, and the persons employed in these manufactures necessarily accompanied them. In one sense they had their reward: the manufacturers gave them better wages than the farmer, and better wages were of no slight advantage to the labourer. In another sense their change of occupation brought them nothing but evil. Forced to dwell in a crowded alley, occupying at night-time a house constructed in neglect of every known sanitary law, employed in the day-time in an unhealthy atmosphere, and frequently on a dangerous occupation, with no education available for his children, with no reasonable recreation to cheer his leisure, with the blue sky of heaven shrouded from his view by the smoke of an adjoining factory, with the rich face of Nature hidden from him by a brick wall, neglected by an overworked clergyman, regarded as a mere machine by an avaricious employer, the factory operative naturally turned to the only places where relaxation was possible, and sought in the public-house, the prize-ring, or the cockpit the degrading amusements which were the business of his leisure.

The manufacturing poor.

Such a life, under any circumstances, would have been sufficiently miserable. It became much more miserable after the war. The trade of England passed through successive periods of alternate prosperity and reverses. The labourers experienced alternate seasons of high wages and scanty work. At one time there was hardly any limit to the demand for their labour; at another time many of them were literally unable to earn sixpence a day. Ignorant, neglected, oppressed, the labourer was tempted to listen to an agitator, who told him that his bread was taxed to swell the income of the country gentleman; or to break the machinery of his employer which he fancied was depriving him of his wages. Such was the lot of the manufacturing poor who were working for wages. The awful distress, however, which the poor were suffering

could not be appreciated by any one who had not investigated the condition of the unfortunate weavers, who were still endeavouring to maintain themselves, with the help of their hand-looms. In 1797 these men had usually earned 26*s.* or 27*s.* a week. The utmost that they could obtain by their toil in 1832 was a penny an hour. Yet they still clung to the looms which, in other times, had given them an honourable independence. It was publicly stated in 1833 that 41,000 persons in a small district in Lancashire were subsisting on twopence a day. For these men there seemed no hope. Day by day they sank deeper into the mire which was involving them in irremediable poverty.[1]

The rural poor.

It so happened that, while the condition of the town operative was gradually becoming more and more wretched, the position of the country labourer was also changing for the worse. The old feudal ties which had hitherto connected the squire with his peasantry were being gradually loosened by the teachings of political economy. Improved agriculture and the introduction of machinery into farming were also altering the economy of rural districts. In the eighteenth century there were few large farms; there were comparatively few large fields; the corn was reaped by hand; the winters were passed in threshing it out by the flail; and the farmers had consequently work for their labourers at every season of the year. Threshing machines altered this condition. They deprived the labourers of the demand which had previously existed for their work in the winter; and the farmers, in consequence, altered their system of hiring, and engaged the men, whom they had previously taken for a year, by the week. It so happened, too, that the vast reclamations of waste land which were made during the war pressed severely on the labouring poor. The common, on which the cottager had kept his cow, was annexed to the huge estate of the adjoining landlord, and the labourer found himself compelled

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xv. pp. 532, 540. The distress extended to France. In 1831 the rate of wages at Lyons was fixed at seven sous (3½*d.*) a day. The masters rejected this rate as "unjust." The workmen, they said, "S'étaient créé des besoins factices."—*L'Histoire de dix ans*, vol. iii. p. 58.

to give up the beast which he had no longer the means to support. In many cases enclosures deprived the rural labourers of much more than their cow. They had been permitted, when the land was supposed to be worthless, to erect a little building on one side of the common, and to convert the patch of ground around it into a garden. In the eye of the law these men were squatters: they had no title to the cottage which they had erected or to the ground which they had reclaimed. The good of the country required the reclamation of wastes, and the little garden in the middle of the common came within the new fence-line of the rich squire. The cottage was demolished, the garden was ploughed up, and the cottager sank, at one blow, from the position of a small farmer, with a little house of his own, into that of a lodger at another cottage, whose sole source of livelihood was the wage which he received for his labour.

The enclosures had been the indirect means of occasioning a considerable injury to the poor. But the Legislature, when it sanctioned them, had not foreseen the injury; on the contrary, it was universally imagined that the additional land which was brought into cultivation would increase the demand for labour, and so produce a permanent benefit to the labouring classes. The result, however, did not justify these expectations. The better wages which the labouring classes in a few instances received for a time were a poor compensation for the cow, the pig, and the goose which they were no longer able to keep. "Before the enclosures," said a labourer to Arthur Young, "I had a good garden, kept two cows, and was getting on. Now I cannot keep so much as a goose, and am poor and wretched."[1] In a short time, moreover, the miserable labourers were deprived of the solitary advantage which increased wages had given them. The prospect of additional work led to early marriages, and to a consequent multiplication of their numbers. The peace, and the lower prices which succeeded it, did away with the new work and added to the number of labourers. Arable land was thrown

[1] Quoted in *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. viii. p. 517.

into pasture; paid-off soldiers and sailors returned to their parishes; and the rate of wages fell and fell continually. Dazzled by the prospect of increasing the food of the people, the Legislature had enabled the landowners to plough up the common, and to throw down the humble enclosure of the cottager. The common was again turned into pasture; but it was supporting the squire's beasts, and not the peasant's. The peasant had seen his garden seized, his cottage demolished, his cow sold, his family impoverished, but the land growing no more corn, and receiving no more culture than before. The cry which Isaiah had raised 2000 years before came home to the miserable labourer, and was repeated by the most eloquent, though not the wisest, of his advocates in Parliament: "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth."

Such were the causes of the universal distress which the labourers were experiencing. A century before rich country gentlemen like Squire Hazledean would have put down the hounds, and have drained all the lowlands in the park into a great lake, and thus given work to every able-bodied man in the parish.[1] Many persons acquainted with the country seats of England can point to some ornamental water in their own neighbourhood, or to some broad and perhaps not very necessary road, which had its origin in a noble sacrifice of this description. But after the conclusion of the great war few country gentlemen had either the means or the inclination to attempt improvements of this character. The universal fall in prices, which was one of the first consequences of the peace, had reduced the rent-rolls of the landlords, and had deprived them of the means, even if they had retained the will, of supporting their humble fellow-villagers. But another measure, generally adopted during the few preceding years, had effectually terminated the old feudal relations between the landlord and the cottagers who lived upon his estate. The parishes, unable to ignore the insufficiency of the wages

[1] *My Novel*, book iii. chap. xxviii.

of the labouring classes, had adopted the extraordinary expedient of supplementing their wages out of the poor-rate. In most parishes the contribution which was thus made was proportioned to the size of the labourer's family, and a direct inducement was accordingly afforded to every labourer to contract an early and improvident marriage. This system produced three miserable results. In the first place, it terminated the friendly relations between the landlord and his tenantry, the squire naturally refusing to do anything for a labourer who could obtain assistance from the parish. In the next place, it led to a vast and unnatural addition to the rural population; and consequently, in the third place, it effectually prevented any rise in the value of unskilled labour. Under such a system it was inevitable that nearly every labourer should become a pauper; and pauperism ceased to be disgraceful when the most industrious were unable to avoid it.

Parish aid.

The contribution paid by the parish in aid of wages was granted so regularly that the labourers were able to insist on it as their due. Two able-bodied labourers in Essex actually applied, in 1830, to the magistrates, and asked them to compel the overseer to supply them with help from the parish. The overseer did not attempt to resist their claim. He merely objected that the farmer who was employing them was paying his labourers lower wages than other agriculturists, and therefore casting an unfair burden on the parish. The Bench gravely suggested that the parish should raise the assessment of the stingy farmer, and thus compel him to pay in rates the sum which he ought to have paid in wages.[1] The worthy justices who arrived at this wonderfully complicated decision do not seem to have been in the least aware of the extraordinary character of the whole arrangement. The anomalies which the Poor Law produced were, in fact, so great that the apportionment of each agriculturist's rates to the wages which he paid was hardly worth mentioning. Many worse expedients were adopted to relieve the labourers.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, Chron., p. 72.

A parish, for instance, could free itself from the obligation of maintaining a female pauper by marrying her to a pauper in another parish. It was the constant habit of some parishes to portion off the old women who were chargeable upon them in this way. A parish thought it a very cheap thing to get rid of a drunken woman or a prostitute by giving her a marriage portion of two or three pounds; and there was usually some pauper to be found who would undertake the cares of matrimony for the sake of this sum.[1] The parish paid the money, not to reduce the aggregate poor-rate, but to shift a portion of the burden on to the ratepayers of another parish.

The consequences of a vicious system.

Such a system naturally tended to increase the numbers of the people, and to impoverish the population. The circumstance that it should have been adopted at the time when Malthus was explaining the principles which regulate the multiplication of man, affords a remarkable instance of the fact that great thinkers do not usually influence the generation in which they write. But the lamentable results which followed the rejection of Malthus' advice convinced even the country gentlemen of the folly of their own course. In the middle of the eighteenth century three-quarters of a million had proved sufficient for the poor-rate and the country-rate. In 1832 more than £7,000,000 was expended on the relief of the poor in England and Wales alone.[2] The maintenance of the poor threw an annual charge of 10*s.* on every man, woman, and child of the population. There is reason for believing that one person in every seven in England and Wales was a pauper.

These figures were probably only known to a comparatively small section of the country gentlemen. But every country gentleman was intimately acquainted with the constant increase of the poor-rate in his own neighbourhood. The landlords could no longer overlook the consequences of a redundant population in their own villages. The miserable devices, to

[1] For an instance of this see *Ann. Reg.*, 1828, Chron., p. 136.

[2] Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, p. 88.

which they themselves had resorted, for ensuring a plentiful supply of cheap labour had made the rates an insupportable burden. Their own views had been proved erroneous; and, with the natural readiness of men to pass from one extreme to another, they hastily adopted the extreme views of political economists. Intent on endeavouring to decrease the number of able-bodied labourers, the landlord attempted to reduce the population of his own village. Armed with a good reason for a bad action, the squire threw down the old cottages wherever an opportunity occurred for doing so, and declined to replace them with better dwellings; the rural labourers were consequently compelled to submit to the most inadequate accommodation.[1]

Country gentlemen, trembling at the increasing rates, which were diminishing their rent-rolls, were thus endeavouring to limit the numbers of the people by depriving them of house-room. Parochial authorities, equally alarmed at the consequences which had ensued from their own mismanagement, were striving to discourage pauperism by acts of cruelty to the pauper. An able-bodied man who applied for relief was, in some cases, sold by auction to any employer who was ready to offer a few pence a day for his services.[2] In other parishes he was insulted by an order to carry stones of a certain size three miles backwards and forwards twice a day.[3] Neither insult nor cruelty had any appreciable effect in diminishing the constantly increasing weight of pauperism. The labourers, seeing no hope of relief, were induced to take part in the organised disturbances which formed a remarkable feature in the domestic history of England. Even the penalty which the law attached to riot and arson lost half its terror to a starving working-man.

A few good men, indeed, were not satisfied with the wretched expedients almost universally adopted for stamping out pauperism. Early in the century a country gentleman in Gloucestershire, with a large estate, and a charity

Allotments.

[1] Sadler said in the House of Commons that the inhabited houses in Suffolk decreased from 47,537 in 1690 to 42,773 in 1831, though the population of the county had largely increased. (*Hansard*, vol. viii. p. 517.)

[2] Ibid., p. 501. [3] Ibid., p. 523.

as warm as it was wise, decided on offering the poor in his neighbourhood small plots of arable land not exceeding an acre in extent, and forfeitable on "any gross breach of any moral or political law."[1] The experiment was attended with gratifying success. During the eight years which followed it no labourer who obtained an allotment "received a farthing from the poor-rate." The poor-rate in the neighbourhood was largely reduced, and the charitable individual who instituted the system had the gratification of seeing other landlords follow his excellent example. Such was the first origin of the allotments which may now be seen in many parts of the kingdom. Their extension in 1830 might possibly have materially alleviated the hardships which the working classes were compelled at that time to endure. The majority of the landlords were not, however, prepared to let small parcels of land, at a low rent, to the cottagers around them; and the system which had been originated in Gloucestershire only slowly made its way to other parts of the country. The landlords depended on other measures for the relief of the distress, and for the alleviation of their own burdens.

There was one method by which a redundant population could be removed which was gradually attracting attention.

Emigration.

The flag of England waved in every quarter of the globe, but it waved in general over an uninhabited territory. The vast possessions which Britain had acquired had few British settlers, and the native still wandered without let or hindrance over the rich pasture-lands of Australia and New Zealand. To one portion of Australia, indeed, the country was in the habit of carrying shiploads of its criminals; but transportation necessarily invested the colony with a bad name, and honest working-men hesitated to embark for a territory which the British Government was apparently reserving for felons. Emigration was, in short, unpopular; but various causes were tending to deprive it of its unpopularity. Improved means of locomotion were tempting people to travel,

[1] The quotations in the text are from a MS. letter of Mr. T. Estcourt in the *Perceval Papers*. Mr. Estcourt's example was quoted and praised in the House of Commons. See Sadler's speech, *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. viii. pp. 498, 529.

and travellers were constantly dilating on the wealth and resources of the "Greater Britains" situated in the other hemisphere. Manufacturers, ever anxious for new markets for their wares; statesmen, desirous of relieving themselves of a redundant population; labourers, vainly looking at home for a fair day's wage for a fair day's labour, were all turning to the vast unoccupied regions of the British empire as a possible means of extricating themselves from their difficulties. Year after year a constantly increasing number of bold persons left the shores of the mother country to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Their example soon found other imitators, and emigration assumed increased proportions. Only 2081 emigrants left the country in 1815; 103,313 persons emigrated in 1832.[1]

Emigration, during the intervening period, had occasionally been assisted by the Government. In 1819 the ministry had procured a vote of £50,000 to assist a few hundred labourers to the Cape of Good Hope. In 1823, in 1825, and in 1827 it obtained similar grants for the purpose of promoting emigration to Canada. The experiments which were thus made were on the whole successful. The expense of emigration, it was found, did not exceed £20 a head, and good accounts were received from Canada of the comfort and prosperity of the new settlers.[2] These results encouraged the ministry in 1826 to attempt some more systematic scheme of emigration. The time was particularly appropriate for such an effort. The terrible financial crisis of the preceding autumn had left its mark on every class of society; and the ministry had, therefore, an additional reason for desiring to organise some means of relieving the poorer classes. There had recently been appointed to a subordinate situation in the Colonial Office Wilmot Horton, the eldest son of Sir Robert Wilmot. Wilmot had married a Miss Horton, and had assumed her name, in

[1] Emigration was at its minimum in 1815. The emigration of 1832 was more than double that of any previous year. Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, p. 126; and *Encycl. Brit.*, ad verb. "Emigration."

[2] See Wilmot Horton's speech, March 14, 1826 (*Hansard*, New Series, vol. xiv. p. 1360). The vote of 1819 does not seem to have been included in the Appropriation Act till 1821, when it was merged in a larger grant of £86,760.

1823. He had been elected for Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1818; had since served with credit as Governor of Ceylon; and, after his return to England, had been made Under-Secretary for the Colonies. Wilmot Horton, like most of the younger men introduced into the Liverpool Administration, was disposed to incline to the generous views of Canning and Huskisson. His deficiencies as a speaker[1] were compensated by the administrative abilities[2] which he was known to possess, and the warm interest which he took in everything that related to the welfare of the labouring classes. Early in 1826 Wilmot Horton proposed the appointment of a select committee to consider the whole question of emigration. The committee was appointed, and with its appointment emigration became a subject of national importance.

Wilmot Horton's committee made a preliminary report in the session of 1826. A new committee, appointed in the succeeding Parliament, made three reports in the session of 1827.[3] The first of these reports merely affirmed the general principle that "private or local contribution ought to form the basis of any system of emigration to which it may be expedient for the committee to recommend any assistance from the national funds." The second report, applying this general principle, proposed that the Government should supplement a grant of £25,000, which the Manufacturers' Relief Committee was willing to make, with a contribution of £50,000. The two sums, the committee thought, would provide for the removal of 1200 families, or 6000 or 7000 persons, to North America.[4] The third report entered elaborately into the whole subject, and proposed that large sums of money should be advanced to intending emigrants out of the Consolidated Fund, to be repaid by the emigrants during the succeeding

[1] See *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 97.

[2] There is a short memoir of Wilmot Horton in the *Ann. Reg.*, 1841, Chron., p. 204. On Canning's promotion to the Treasury, Horton's advancement was expected. (*Colchester*, vol. iii. p. 486.) He ultimately retired from office in 1828 (ibid., vol. iii. p. 567), declining to serve under Wellington.

[3] The Reports are in Parliamentary Papers, sess. 1827, Nos. 88, 237, and 550. The Second and Third Reports will be found in the *Ann. Reg.*, 1827, Chron. p. 382.

[4] For the recommendation see Report, pp. 4, 5.

thirty years. The committee also proposed that a Board should be established in London, with agents in different parts of the country, for regulating emigration.[1] The reports which were thus made had the effect of directing further attention to the whole subject. But the recommendations of the committee did not meet with much favour. Prudent statesmen doubted the propriety of advancing large sums of money to paupers; they doubted the possibility of obtaining repayment for a loan from a creditor in a distant country. However much they respected Wilmot Horton's motives, they hesitated to risk an expenditure of more than a million on his suggested experiment.

Something, however, it was necessary to do. Country gentlemen, pointing to their diminished rent-rolls; labourers, vainly asking for work; parochial authorities, dismayed at the load of pauperism for which it was necessary to provide—all required some remedy for their misfortunes. The ministry, forced to do something, sent out an officer to Canada to inquire into the circumstances of former emigrants. Inquiry of this character formed only a cold answer to the prayers of starving millions; and, in 1828, Wilmot Horton attempted to give effect to the recommendations of his own committee. In 1828, however, Horton no longer spoke with the authority of office. Some months before he had retired from the ministry, and rose, therefore, as an independent member. In this capacity he introduced two measures. The more important of the two enabled the parochial authorities to mortgage the poor-rates for the purpose of raising loans for the assistance of intending emigrants. It was lost in 1828; and, though it was reintroduced in 1830, it never became law.[2] The less important bill regulated the conveyance of the wretched emigrants who filled the merchant vessels which transported them to America. The unfortunate individuals who were seeking a home in the new world were frequently exposed to the miseries and dangers of the slave

[1] See the Third Report, p. 33.

[2] For this bill see *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xviii. p. 1547; and cf. vol. xix. p. 1501, and vol. xxv. p. 367.

ship. The vessel, perhaps imperfectly constructed for the purpose, was commonly overcrowded. Insufficient food was provided for an Atlantic voyage. No pains were taken to prevent unhealthy or diseased persons from coming on board, and no medical aid was afforded to the emigrants. One ship, the *James*, which carried 160 Irish to Canada, gained especially an unenviable notoriety. All the 160 passengers, and all the crew, were attacked with typhus. Five of the emigrants died on board, and thirty-five were too ill to leave the port at which they disembarked. The people of Halifax, where they landed, caught the fever, and one out of every nine persons in the town was struck down by it.[1] These facts made it obvious that, if emigration were to continue, some steps must be taken to regulate the vessels engaged in it. Parliament assented to the Act which Wilmot Horton introduced with this object.[2] Some years afterwards it supplemented this measure and gave effect to one of the recommendations of the Emigration Committee, by establishing an Emigration Board in London. These measures made emigration a little more easy than before, and annually relieved the mother country of some 75,000 redundant mouths.[3]

The emigration which thus began compares unfavourably with the mighty movement which took place some twenty years afterwards. But emigration in 1832 had far greater terrors for the emigrant than it possessed in 1852. The man in 1832 who made up his mind to seek his fortunes in Australasia placed an almost immeasurable distance between himself and those whom he left behind. The poorest labourer suffering the pangs of starvation felt that between his country and him a deep gulf was thenceforward to be fixed :—

> "On England's shore I saw a pensive band,
> With sails unfurled for earth's remotest strand,
> Like children, parting from a mother, shed
> Tears for the home that could not yield them bread."

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[1] *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xviii. p. 962.

[2] The Act is 9th Geo. IV. c. 21. Hume, much to his discredit, opposed it. (*Hansard*, New Series, vol. xviii. p. 962.)

[3] Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, p. 126. Lord Howick, as Under-Secretary for the Colonies, introduced an Emigration Bill in 1831 ; it was lost from the dissolution. (*Hansard*, Third Series, vol. ii. p. 875.)

Every year which passed, however, altered this condition. Every year brought Australasia for all practical purposes nearer and nearer to the old home. Every year made the mighty future of the new world more and more evident. The same poet who had described the emigrants in despondency lived to prepare for them their song of triumph :—

"Cheer up, cheer up! our course we'll keep
With dauntless heart and hand;
And when we've ploughed the mighty deep
We'll plough a smiling land.

Britannia's pride is in our hearts,
Her blood is in our veins;
We'll girdle earth with British arts,
Like Ariel's magic chains."

The sun which was shining in another hemisphere was affording a ray of hope to the downcast labourer at home. The condition of Ireland was so miserable that even emigration seemed powerless to improve it. The distress which was visible in the rural districts of England was even more universal in Ireland. One-fifth of the entire population was supposed, in 1830, to be out of employment. The labouring classes were, in consequence, in the severest distress; and the landlords were taking every opportunity of relieving their estates from the incubus of a redundant population by ejecting their unhappy tenantry. The peasants, forced from their miserable cabins, either crossed the sea to England seeking the work which could only in rare instances be afforded to them, or flocked into the towns. Seven of these wretched families were occasionally crowded into one small apartment. "In these abodes of misery" disease was almost certain to appear. Disease proved rapidly fatal to a people deprived of every comfort, and even of many necessaries of life; and the unfortunate Irish fell speedily victims to the fever which universally waits upon want.[1] No organised means existed for their support. The Poor Law had not been extended to Ireland; and the starving peasants, deprived of all legal

Ireland.

[1] See Dr. Doyle's evidence, Select Committee on Irish Poor, 1830, Question 4384; and Report, p. 2.

methods of relief,[1] were forced to depend on the charity of those who were a little less necessitous than themselves. Charity, indeed, was nobly practised by the middle classes of the Irish. Struggling farmers and small tradesmen, themselves hardly raised above the pressure of immediate want, regularly divided a portion of their scanty income among their poorer neighbours. Their generous self-sacrifice saved millions of their wretched fellow-countrymen from perishing of hunger. The rich Irish landlord (frequently an absentee) took no steps to relieve his miserable tenantry. The burden of their poverty fell with crushing weight on the middle classes of society.

The misery which prevailed in Ireland was, of course, intensified by every addition to the population. Few new sources of employment were open to the labouring poor; and the poor were multiplying their numbers in defiance of every principle of the laws of population. The land, divided and subdivided among miserable cottiers, was exhausted by a long continuance of improvident husbandry,[2] and was no longer capable of yielding the scanty crops which, in previous years, had barely supported the cottier and his family. Nothing but the wholesale removal of the Irish poor could, apparently, remedy the disease from which Ireland was suffering, and the best friends of the Irish warmly advocated the emigration of the people.[3] Emigration, however, was even more difficult to accomplish in Ireland than in Great Britain. The people, wedded to the soil, disliked the notion of removing from it. The absentee proprietor, spending his last farthing in London, was unwilling to contribute to the expense of their removal, and no machinery existed for raising adequate funds for the purpose. Fifty years ago sixty pounds were required

[1] There were twelve Houses of Industry in all Ireland, but there was no establishment of this kind in all Ulster and Connaught. They were houses established for the punishment of the refractory, rather than for the relief of the needy poor. They were very badly managed. (Report, 1830, p. 30, 33.)

[2] Any one who visits Ireland now will see that some of the land, which has once been cultivated by the peasantry, has not yet recovered its fertility. The best land, in parts of Connaught, is the stony land which it did not even pay an Irish cottier to cultivate, but which, when the stones are removed from it, yields now fair pasture.

[3] Report, 1830, p. 49.

to remove a single poor family from Britain and to settle them in Canada.[1] At this rate a sum of thirty millions would have been barely sufficient to remove the redundant Irish poor. Under such circumstances, it seemed hopeless to expect that emigration would ever exert an appreciable effect on the overstocked labour market of Ireland.

There was, then, a close resemblance between the origin of the distress in Great Britain and its origin in Ireland. In both countries, the supply of labour exceeded the demand for it. In England the excess was due to the introduction of machinery and to the conversion of arable land into pasture; in Ireland it was mainly attributable to the minute subdivision of the soil. In England the miseries of the poor were aggravated by the follies of those who administered the Poor Law; in Ireland the starving peasantry had not even the opportunity of appealing to an improvident poor-rate. In Great Britain distress led to riot and agitation; in Ireland riot and agitation were chronic disorders which were merely aggravated by want. It happened, too, that an unfortunate decision of the House of Commons increased the probability of disturbance in Ireland. O'Connell, refused his seat for Clare, signalised his fresh election by announcing his determination to effect the repeal of the Union.[2] Such a threat, coming from O'Connell, was sufficiently formidable. Its author, within a few months, showed his determination to enforce it. The Catholic Association had been suppressed: a new association, "The Friends of Ireland of all Religious Persuasions," was formed by O'Connell. The Lord Lieutenant, armed with the powers of the Act of 1829, prohibited the meeting of "the Friends of Ireland." An Anti-Union Association was immediately formed by O'Connell.[3] The Lord Lieutenant was absent in England; but Sir H. Hardinge, who had replaced Leveson Gower as Irish Secretary,[4] at once prohibited the meetings

O'Connell's new agitation in 1830.

[1] For this estimate see Third Report of Emigration Committee, 1827, p. 22.

[2] See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 425.

[3] *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, Hist., p. 148.

[4] They had exchanged offices in August 1830. Oddly enough, Miss Martineau dubs Sir H. Hardinge Viceroy. (*Hist. of the Peace*, vol. ii. p. 7.)

of the Anti-Union Association. O'Connell, on the following day, proposed the formation of an "Association of Irish Volunteers."[1]

A contest had thus commenced between the Irish Government on the one side and O'Connell on the other. O'Connell was not in the habit of measuring his words when he was engaged in a struggle with an opponent. He exhausted a vocabulary of abuse in denouncing Hardinge. "In the beginning of this week," he said, "you saw an English soldier, a hireling scribe, at the Castle, writing down the freedom of our country. . . . I arraign that paltry, contemptible little English soldier that had the audacity to put his pitiful and contemptible name to an atrocious Polignac proclamation. . . . A wretched English scribe (a chance child of fortune and of war), urged on by his paltry, pitiful lawyerlings, puts his vile name to his paltry proclamation putting down free men. . . . My blood boils when I see a wretched English scribe dare, in the face of Heaven, to trample down the people of Ireland with his iron heel." Furious language of this character would have come more naturally from an angry fishwife than from a reasonable statesman. It certainly cast more contempt on the orator who used it than on the soldier to whom it was applied. Twenty years afterwards Hardinge would probably have declined to distinguish it by his notice. It was less easy, however, to pass over insolence in 1830 than it would have been in 1850. Only a little more than a year had passed since Hardinge had himself accompanied the Prime Minister on his memorable duel with Winchilsea. The Chief Secretary for Ireland could hardly decline a danger which the Prime Minister had encountered; and Hardinge accordingly sent a friend to O'Connell to ask him whether he avowed the language which he was reported to have used; and if so to demand "the remedy which one gentleman has a right to expect from another." O'Connell disavowed the expressions "a chance child of war" and "a hireling scribe," and declared that the rest of the speech had reference only to

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, Chron., pp. 174, 175.

Hardinge's "public capacity, as an instrument of despotism." Fighting a duel, however, was a bad way to prove that Hardinge was right or O'Connell wrong; and the agitator, in consequence, refused to fight.[1]

Hardinge's challenge to O'Connell is the single incident for which his tenure of the Chief Secretaryship is recollected. A few weeks afterwards the Wellington Ministry fell; and Hardinge, who had the opportunity of retaining office under the Whigs,[2] preferred to retire with his old friend and chief. Grey replaced the retiring Viceroy, the Duke of Northumberland, with Lord Anglesey; Hardinge with Edward Stanley. Anglesey, it will be recollected, was no stranger to the cares of Dublin. Differences with Wellington, in the autumn of 1828, had necessitated his removal; but the causes which had led to his supercession then suggested his reappointment in 1830. The man who was selected for his principal adviser was the most brilliant of the rising politicians who were at the disposal of the new minister. Heir to one of the oldest English earldoms, heir also to a considerable Irish estate, with eloquence of the highest order, with abilities of first-rate excellence, sympathising with Liberal opinions, animated by the purest motives, Stanley promised to rise to the most prominent position in the ranks of his party, and to discharge the duties of his Chief Secretaryship with exceptional credit. His admirers in 1830 imagined that the fertility of his genius compensated for the deficiency of his knowledge. They failed to anticipate the full consequences of his fiery temper.

Anglesey and Edward Stanley, Viceroy and Chief Secretary.

The formation of a Whig Ministry afforded an opportunity for conciliating Ireland. The Irish Administration had necessarily to be remodelled, and room, it was thought, might be found in the new Government for some of the agitators who were disquieting their country. "To buy O'Connell at any price" was the programme which prudent bystanders considered should be pursued.[3] O'Connell, indeed, loudly pro-

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, Chron., pp. 176, 178.
[2] *Spencer*, p. 230.
[3] *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 77.

tested that he asked no favour for himself. But he was not the only prominent lawyer who proclaimed his own disinterestedness. Brougham's example sufficiently proved the worth of such declarations; and there was no reason for supposing that O'Connell was less ambitious than Brougham. Nearly forty years before Fitzwilliam had flattered the Irish by inducing Grattan to enter the Irish Ministry. The remedy which had been applicable to the great patriot seemed equally applicable to the great agitator. Unfortunately for Ireland, the new Viceroy thought otherwise. He invited O'Connell to a conference at London; but he told him that he had decided on retaining the law officers of Wellington's Administration in power. In one sense the decision was natural. Joy and Doherty—the Attorney and Solicitor General—had been law officers during Anglesey's previous Viceroyalty, and it was reasonable that he should, therefore, desire to retain his old friends in their situations. In another sense the decision was the most unfortunate at which Anglesey could have arrived. O'Connell, at once, indignantly declared that the proceeding would array "the whole Catholic community" against the Government.[1] The first act of the new Irish Viceroy threatened to estrange from him three men out of every four in Ireland.

O'Connell dissatisfied with the Whigs.

Few men have the opportunity of repairing an error of this character: Anglesey might have repaired it within a fortnight. The Government determined on replacing Sir Anthony Hart, the Irish Chancellor, with the most brilliant of Irish lawyers, Plunket. Plunket's promotion to the Chancellorship caused a vacancy in the Court of Common Pleas. O'Connell was supposed to look with longing eyes at this dignified situation; but Anglesey, repeating his former error, filled it with Doherty. The appointment increased the breach between O'Connell and the unlucky Viceroy.[2] But it again

[1] *Melbourne*, vol. i. p. 356; and *Spencer*, vol. i. p. 263. Doherty had been opposed to O'Connell on the Cork Special Commission; and O'Connell had brought Doherty's conduct on that occasion before Parliament. See O'Flanagan's *Sketches of the Irish Bar*, pp. 196, 197.

[2] *Melbourne*, vol. i. p. 357; and cf. *Blackburne*, p. 66.

afforded Anglesey an opportunity of extricating himself from his dilemma. Doherty's promotion vacated the Solicitor-Generalship; Joy retired, and Anglesey had the chance of regaining the favour which he had wilfully thrown away by a wise selection of new law officers. With almost incredible folly he offered the Attorney-Generalship to Pennefather, a Tory; and, on Pennefather's refusal, conferred it on Blackburne, another Tory. It would have been difficult to have selected an abler lawyer or a more honourable man, but it would also have been difficult to have made a more offensive selection. Blackburne was chiefly known from his presidency over the Special Commission which crushed Limerick and Clare into order in 1823. He had conducted the prosecution against Shea's murderers.[1] These services properly commended him to Lord Anglesey's notice; but they were not, unfortunately, of a character to make him popular in Ireland.

Anglesey did not make the mistake of selecting another Tory for the Solicitor-Generalship. Crampton, who was selected for that office, was a Whig,[2] but he was a Protestant and a cipher. The Government had deliberately passed over the ablest lawyers at the Irish Bar; and the inference was irresistible that their claims had been ignored on account either of their politics or of their religion. Such a decision, coming from a Whig Ministry, could not fail to increase the agitation for repeal. Every Roman Catholic in Ireland was almost openly told that he had no chance of advancement from a British Government. Every repealer in Ireland was equally plainly assured that his personal interests would be ignored till the Union was repealed. O'Connell at once took up the challenge which Anglesey had thrown down, and declared war against the new ministry. In opposition to his advice Anglesey was received at Kingstown with some ceremony. But the cheers which awaited the Viceroy were

1 *Blackburne*, pp. 37, 52.

2 Ibid., p. 65. Mr. Blackburne throws the blame of these appointments on Lord Grey; but Lord Anglesey was solely responsible for them. *Spencer*, p. 262; *Melbourne*, vol. i. p. 356.

soon forgotten amidst the enthusiasm aroused by O'Connell's own triumphant entry into Dublin.[1]

O'Connell's conduct in 1831.

War had practically been declared between the Viceroy and O'Connell, and both of the parties to the warfare busily made their preparations for the campaign—the one in his Viceregal lodge, surrounded by his advisers, with all the resources of the British Government at his disposal; the other in his house in Merrion Square, overburdened with debt, but with nine-tenths of the population of the most excitable city in the world anxiously awaiting his orders. Active operations soon began. The tradesmen of Dublin determined on marching in procession through the streets of their city on the 27th of December, and on presenting an address of thanks to O'Connell for his exertions. Anglesey issued a proclamation forbidding the procession. The managers of the proposed meeting, instead of obeying the Viceroy, waited on O'Connell to know what they should do. O'Connell advised them to obey the law. The Viceroy had prohibited the meeting: the Dublin tradesmen must obey the Viceroy. They must, accordingly, abstain from meeting on the 27th of December. But a body of 1600 of them might meet on the 28th, might decorate themselves with orange and green scarves, might march round the statue of William III., might give three cheers for Ireland, and proceed with the address to Merrion Square. His advice was, of course, adopted. The larger procession, which had been announced for the 27th, was abandoned for a small demonstration on the 28th. The law was technically obeyed; but all Ireland saw that obedience was paid to O'Connell, and not to the Viceroy.[2]

A successful demonstration formed, however, only a portion of O'Connell's schemes. A few days after the separation of the sixteen hundred O'Connell proposed the formation of a society for the prevention of unlawful meetings, and for the

[1] *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 98.

[2] *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, Chron., pp. 209, 213; and ibid., 1831, Hist., p. 304. *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 99.

protection and exercise of the sacred right of petitioning for the redress of grievances.[1] Anglesey at once prohibited the meeting of the new association. O'Connell, summoning his friends around him, again suggested obedience to the Viceroy's proclamation. He proposed that he should be substituted for the society; that he should receive its subscriptions; that he should be the protector of the people's rights and the Pacificator of Ireland. He contemplated, however, the assistance of two new bodies: one, a club to talk over matters connected with parliamentary elections; the other, a society to discuss the merits of the Union, and to petition thereupon. It was proposed that the club should breakfast once a week in public at Home's Hotel. On the 10th of January 1831, Anglesey prohibited the breakfast. O'Connell had the wisdom to advise compliance with the Viceroy's orders, and the dexterity to ridicule the Government for issuing them. "Another proclamation"—so he at once wrote—"has been issued by the veracious Lord Anglesey. Let us obey it readily—let no man breakfast at Home's. Alas! poor Home! But at breakfast, dinner, and supper, let every Irishman recollect that he lives in a country where one Englishman's will is law."[2]

O'Connell had hitherto succeeded in rendering a technical obedience to the law. He had complied with the letter, while he had disregarded the spirit, of the Viceroy's orders. The prohibition of one association had been followed by the formation of another; and every fresh proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant had only led to some fresh exercise of the never-failing ingenuity of his opponent. Wearied with the protracted contest, the Irish Government, on the 13th of January, decided on issuing a fresh order forbidding the assembly of the association under any name or in any shape whatever. O'Connell met the proclamation by inviting thirty-one persons to meet him at breakfast, for the purpose of arranging an aggregate assembly at which a petition to Parliament might be prepared. The Government dispersed

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Hist., p. 305. [2] Ibid., p. 307.

the assembly; but the people who had composed it, on O'Connell's advice, met again in Dawson Street. The Government immediately ordered the arrest of the leading persons who had attended the meeting. O'Connell, by adjourning a prohibited meeting, had, in the opinion of the most competent authorities, at length brought himself within the compass of the law.[1]

Arrest and trial of O'Connell.

O'Connell's arrest took place on the 18th of January. On the 19th the Grand Jury found true bills against him and his associates. They were indicted, on fourteen different counts, for an offence against the statute, and on seventeen other counts for a conspiracy under the Common Law.[2] To the first fourteen counts O'Connell at once demurred. In the case of a misdemeanour the demurrer admits the facts, but disputes the legality of the proceedings;[3] and O'Connell, therefore, by demurring had practically precluded himself from obtaining a fair trial on the facts. Reflection convinced him of the mistake which he had made. The Court had ordered the demurrers to be heard on the 7th of February. On the 5th O'Connell asked leave to withdraw them, and to plead not guilty to the whole indictment. The application was allowed; and the trial, after some delay, was fixed for the 17th of February. But before the day arrived O'Connell shrank from the encounter, and offered to let judgment go against him by default on the first fourteen counts of the indictment, on condition that the remaining counts, charging him with a conspiracy, were withdrawn. Blackburne, as Attorney-General, assented to this arrangement, and entered a *nolle prosequi* on the remaining counts. The case was then allowed to stand over till the first day of Easter term.[4]

The Irish Government was elated by its success in these

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Hist., pp. 308, 310; and cf. *Blackburne*, p. 71.

[2] The indictment contained originally thirty-one counts, divided as in the text. *Hansard*, vol. ii. p. 1009.

[3] *Blackburne*, p. 74; note.

[4] *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, Hist., p. 317. *Blackburne*, p. 75. *Melbourne*, vol. i. p. 359.

proceedings. Stanley conveyed to Blackburne his best thanks and congratulations on his great and triumphant success. Grey and Melbourne were delighted at the victory; and Anglesey, who had been a martyr to tic-douloureux for years, forgot even his pain amidst the excitement of his triumph.[1] Amidst the congratulations, however, which the ministers showered upon each other at their success ominous rumours of a compromise were constantly heard. It was asserted and industriously repeated that an arrangement had been made between O'Connell and the Government, and that the agitator would never be brought up for judgment. It was in vain that Stanley, speaking with all the authority of his office, gave an emphatic contradiction to these reports.[2] It was in vain that he read a letter from the Irish Attorney-General to prove that no compromise had ever been contemplated by the Irish Government. The rumours of compromise continued to acquire shape and consistency. Every one believed in the sincerity of Stanley's declaration, but every one saw that there was a stronger will than Stanley's in the ministry. The events of the session were in favour of O'Connell; and the necessities of the Government in England seemed likely to influence its conduct in Ireland. Men who were busily occupied with the Reform Bill could hardly spare time to think of an Irish riot. Politicians, earnestly speculating on the majority arrayed against them, could not afford to affront a single supporter. Statesmen, contemplating the possibility of a dissolution, shrank from the risks of a general election in Ireland while O'Connell was in prison. These various considerations necessarily influenced the policy of the Government. On the 2nd of March the Reform Bill was introduced. On the 9th O'Connell made a great speech in support of the measure. Easter arrived, and O'Connell's presence in London was still necessary to the ministry. With the consent of the Irish Attorney-General judgment was postponed till an early day in May. Eight days before May the ministry, defeated on

[1] *Blackburne*, pp. 77, 79. *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 109. *Melbourne*, vol. i. p. 360.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. ii. pp. 490, 611, 1007.

Gascoigne's motion, dissolved Parliament. The Act under which O'Connell had been convicted expired with the dissolution. The Irish law officers concluded that O'Connell could not be brought up for judgment after the expiration of the statute, and accordingly no further proceedings were taken against him.[1]

Proceedings against him abandoned.

In the meanwhile the Irish were fast resuming the chronic disturbances which had become almost necessary to their existence. The sufferings of the Irish poor in 1831 made disorder even more than usually probable. O'Connell had already organised the people for an attack on the Union. The people were themselves attributing their misfortunes to the exactions of the Irish Church. The collection of tithes continued to be the standing grievance of the masses of the Irish nation. The legislation of 1822 and 1823[2] had not succeeded in extinguishing the evils which it had, in some cases, remedied. The Act of 1822 had enabled the tithe-proprietor to let the tithes on lease to the owner of the land; the Act of 1823 had enabled the tithe-proprietor and the tithe-payer to arrange a composition of tithes. A voluntary arrangement of this character was not, of course, universally accepted, and two circumstances interfered with its general adoption. In the first place, the Act of 1823 subjected the farmer of grass land to the tithe. But a century before, in 1735, agistment land, or land on which cattle were pastured, had been declared free of tithe by the decision of a Protestant Parliament.[3] In 1823 the farmer of grass land was, in some cases, unwilling to resume a burden from which his predecessors had successfully relieved themselves; and, in consequence, became the warm opponent of the measure which Goulburn had introduced. In the next place, the Irish Bishops frequently considered that the composition of the tithe would reduce the value of the cure, and consequently diminish the worth of their patronage. These two reasons combined to make the Composition Act, which Goulburn had

Irish tithes.

[1] *Blackburne*, pp. 93, 95. [2] *Ante*, vol. ii. pp. 291, 292.
[3] Tithe Report, Parliamentary Papers, Session 1832, vol. xxi. p. 249.

introduced, a much less efficient measure than it would otherwise have proved.[1]

The passage of Goulburn's Act, moreover, had indirectly created a new difficulty. The Protestant minority in Ireland fancied that its supremacy was assailed. The more zealous members of the Irish Church conjectured that the best means of resisting the assault was to convert Ireland to Protestantism. It was supposed to be not more difficult to supply the Irish with Protestantism than it had proved, in the instance of a recent famine, to supply them with potatoes. What was principally wanted in both cases were subscriptions.[2] "A little army of itinerant reformers" pervaded Ireland, abused the Roman Catholics, and added one more difference to the many divisions which were rending Ireland into factions. The Roman Catholics were not likely to sit quietly by and hear themselves assailed by these missionaries. They retorted on the new apostles of Protestantism. Pulpit replied to pulpit; and the controversy, which had previously been confined to the platform, was introduced into the church. A few hundred starving Roman Catholics were converted to Protestantism by the offer of food: just as, at the same time, 5000 or 6000 West India slaves were baptized on a grant in Jamaica of a dollar a head for baptisms.[3] Orthodox people, subscribing their shillings and their guineas, congratulated themselves "on the prospect of our at last becoming an united Protestant people." Prudent persons, with less enthusiasm or less faith, trembled at the consequences of a movement which estranged ninety Roman Catholics for every ten which it swept into the Protestant fold.

The New Reformation.

In fact, the New Reformation, as it was called in triumph by its supporters, in derision by its opponents, was seriously increasing the Irish difficulty. The Roman Catholics found a new reason for their dislike for tithes when the money which they were compelled to pay to the Protestant clergyman was

[1] Tithe Report, Parliamentary Papers, Session 1832, vol. xxi. p. 249.

[2] *Tancred*, book i. chap. iv.

[3] Authority for this statement will be found in *Hansard*, New Series, vol. ix. p. 333.

used to effect the conversion of their own relations. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare, Dr. Doyle, a prelate of great power, of large information, and wide influence, published a pamphlet in which he expressed a hope that the hatred of the Irish to tithes would be as lasting as their love of justice.[1] Epigrammatic advice of this character was almost certain to produce mischief amidst an inflammable population. The flame became inevitable when Protestant fuel was heaped on to the Roman Catholic spark. In the diocese of Kildare there were two contiguous parishes of Mountrath and Graigue. Mr. Nixon was curate of Mountrath; Mr. Macdonnell[2] was curate of Graigue. Nixon and Macdonnell were both zealous Protestants, devoted to the cause of the New Reformation. Nixon showed his zeal by desiring to rebuild the parish church, and, by packing a vestry with Protestants, obtained a rate—a cess, as it is called, in Ireland—for the purpose. About the same time Dean Scott, who had for forty years been the absentee incumbent of the parish, was succeeded by a Mr. Latouche—another absentee. Dean Scott, a good-natured dignitary of the Church, had been satisfied in extracting a tithe of £500 a year from the parish. After his death two clergymen were temporarily appointed to receive the temporalities, and succeeded in raising the tithes to £1500 annually. Latouche, succeeding to the cure, packed a vestry, and obtained a composition under the Act. The people, already irritated with Nixon's cess, were galled into action by Latouche's tithe, and determined "never again to pay one penny tithe or church cess in voluntary cash payment."[3]

Graigue and Mountrath.

Latouche and Nixon had produced a crisis in Mountrath. Macdonnell, a few months afterwards, was equally successful in Graigue. Macdonnell filled a good many offices in the parish. He was curate; he was a zealous promoter of the New Reformation; he was a magistrate in the county; and

[1] Tithe Committee, Commons, p. 68. But cf. Dr. Doyle's most temperate pastoral letter in Tithe Committee Report (Lords), p. 235.

[2] His name is always so spelt in the Lords' Committee. It is spelt M'Donald in the Commons' Committee.

[3] Commons' Committee, p. 299.

he was tithe-proctor to the absentee incumbent. Tithe-proctors, magistrates, and reformers were all unpopular characters in Ireland, and Macdonnell concentrated the unpopularity of all three classes in his own person. His unpopularity soon increased. It had been the custom in Ireland to exempt the Roman Catholic priest from the tithe which he was legally liable to pay.[1] Macdonnell was too zealous a Protestant to extend any favour to a Roman Catholic clergyman. The tithe was demanded from the priest, and the priest's horse was seized in default of payment.[2] This proceeding increased the irritation which Macdonnell's interference had already excited in Graigue. The parish priest of Graigue denounced the payment of tithe from the pulpit.[3] Towards the end of November 1830 the cattle of two farmers were seized for arrears of tithe, but released on an undertaking to produce them fourteen days afterwards—the day of sale. A rumour soon spread that the cattle were not to be released on the appointed day. Macdonnell applied to the Government for assistance, and a strong force of police was marched into the parish. The county magistrates, however, had the good sense to interfere; and the parish, on their recommendation, was allowed two months to pay its tithes. The two months expired, but the tithes were not paid. The aid of the authorities was again requested; and, in the beginning of March, Graigue was occupied with a force of 350 police, while a troop of dragoons and a detachment of the 21st Fusiliers were marched into adjoining villages. For two months the police were constantly occupied in attempting to drive cattle. Whenever they were seen approaching, the cattle were placed under lock and key; and, as the law did not permit a lock to be broken or cattle to be seized at night, the labours of the police were, in this way, usually frustrated. In a few instances, indeed, the police succeeded in seizing some cattle. In these cases no one except the owners would

The payment of tithes resisted.

[1] Tithe Committee, Commons, p. 8. Lords, p. 10.
[2] Ibid. Cf. *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. xi. p. 179.
[3] Lords' Committee, p. 39.

bid for them at the sale; and an auction thus conducted was naturally unprofitable. Graigue had shown that it required a little army to collect the tithes of a single parish, and that dexterity on the part of the population might disconcert the best-planned military operations.[1]

Resistance to the payment of tithes had been organised in Graigue. Resistance, once organised, spread rapidly over Ireland. Public meetings were illegal in that country; but there was no law which prevented the people collecting for a hurling match. A few of the boys might knock about the ball and pursue the game which was the ostensible cause of the gathering.[2] But there was no regular hurling match. The people who attended were frequently armed, and openly admitted that they came to hurl out the tithe system. Even the farmers who were willing to pay tithes were intimidated by these hurling matches. It was in vain that the police were ordered to assist the drivers: they were wearied and disorganised by constant and harassing work.[3] It was in vain that the proctors served their processes under the protection of the military. It became a favourite amusement in Ireland to make the proctor eat the process which he tried to serve.[4] It was in vain even that the police succeeded in occasionally seizing the cattle of some defaulting farmer. No one would buy the cattle; no one in Ireland would even give them food. It was actually found necessary to drive them to the nearest port and export them to England. The taint of the tithe followed them to this country, and many persons still refused to buy them.[5]

Organised resistance of this character was, moreover, attended with more formidable measures. The process-server of Dr. Butler, a pluralist in Kilkenny, was murdered.[6] Pitched battles took place between the police and the people, and a serious loss of life resulted from

The increase of disorder.

[1] Lords' Committee, p. 8.
[2] Commons' Committee, p. 22.
[3] *Hansard*, vol. ix. p. 266.
[4] Lords' Committee, p. 131.
[5] *Hansard*, vol. ix. p. 266.
[6] For Dr. Butler's case see Lords' Committee, p. 45; and cf. *Hansard*, vol. ix. p. 270, and vol. x. p. 411.

these encounters.[1] Resistance to the payment of tithe soon led to an organised opposition to the payment of rent. Bands of Whitefeet and Blackfeet[2] paraded the country, denouncing landlords, threatening incoming tenants, and insisting on a general reduction of rents. A force of six or seven thousand people marched to a land agent's house and compelled him to refund the rents which he had received. An anonymous authority in Queen's County ordered an abatement of five shillings in the rent of every acre of land in the county, and threatened the reluctant landlord with "the disagreeable necessity of visiting you personally, and to terminate, not your lease, but your existence."[3] The Lord Lieutenant and the magistrates of Westmeath declared "that the peace and security of society was overturned, that the certain penalty of death awaited any man who presumed to give information against the insurgents, that the certain destruction of property ensued to whoever ventured to act or speak in opposition to the dictates of secret and insurrectionary committees."[4]

Society in Ireland continued in this miserable condition throughout the whole of 1831. Some of the disturbed districts were proclaimed. Special commissions were sent into the West and South-West of Ireland. A few of the rioters were convicted and executed. But these measures failed to pacify the unfortunate country. In some cases they only served to draw attention to the wide differences which separated the Irish from the Irish Government. Convictions could only be obtained through Irish juries; and Irish juries displayed an increasing reluctance to convict their fellow-countrymen for assaulting tithe-proctors, for outraging landlords, or for murdering police.[5] In December 1831 a considerable force of police, protecting a tithe-proctor at Hugginstown, in Kilkenny, was

[1] *Hansard*, vol. ix. p. 142. *Ann. Reg.*, p. 32, Hist., p. 296.

[2] It was suggested at the time that the Blackfeet owed their names to having shoes; the Whitefeet were a still lower class, who could not afford shoes. The Protestants fancied that the Whitefeet and Blackfeet were opposed to each other. Dr. Doyle treated them as both opposed to the law. Commons' Committee, p. 49.

[3] *Hansard*, vol. xi. p. 177.

[4] Ibid., vol. xi. p. 245.

[5] *Blackburne*, p. 114.

suddenly attacked by a large body of people. The process-server and eleven of the police were killed, and several others of them were wounded. Twelve persons were indicted for these offences. Two absconded; three were acquitted; in one case the jury was unable to agree; and the Attorney-General, disheartened at these failures, declined to produce evidence against the six others.[1] The failure of the Government on this occasion stimulated the demand which had already been made for fresh measures of repression. When Parliament met in December 1831 the king specially directed the attention of the Legislature to the subject,[2] and committees were at once appointed in both Houses to inquire into the tithe laws.[3] The terms, however, of the king's speech and of the appointment of the committees induced the conviction that the ministry were more desirous of amending the law than of enforcing it. The Opposition was ready to impute any ideas to a Government which was engaged in forcing the Reform Bill through Parliament.

These rumours gradually acquired so much consistency that the ministry felt it necessary to notice them. Early in February, Grey took the opportunity, which the presentation of a petition against tithes afforded him, of saying that the Government was determined to enforce the law. The Tories were delighted at this announcement. Passing at once from one extreme to the other, they regarded it as an intimation that the Prime Minister was in favour of maintaining the Irish Church, with all its abuses, in its integrity.[4] A little reflection might have convinced them that such a course was impracticable. The resistance to the payment of tithes was so general that their collection was no longer possible. It would have

[1] This outrage is variously known as the Knocktopher, the Carrickshock, and the Hugginstown outrage. It was thought that the populace, who succeeded in enclosing the police in a narrow lane between high walls, purposely selected the Protestant members of the force. Out of twenty-four Protestant policemen nine were killed and eleven were wounded. Out of fourteen Catholic policemen two were killed and five wounded. See Tithe Report, Commons, pp. 13, 36; and *Blackburne*, p. 116.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. ix. p. 3.

[3] Ibid., pp. 229, 259.

[4] Ibid., vol. x. pp. 2, 3. Cf. ibid., p. 1290; and *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 250.

required an army, "a most enormous army," to collect the tithes;[1] and in the meanwhile the inability to collect them pressed with increasing severity on the Protestant clergymen. For more than a year many Irish clergymen had been unable to obtain a single shilling of the emoluments of their cures. Many of them were, in consequence, in the utmost distress. Some of them were in actual want of the ordinary comforts of life.[2] Their attempts to collect their tithes had proved unavailing. They had led to bloodshed which every one deplored. They had afflicted Ireland with fresh disturbances. Tories might still talk of the sacred rights of property, and of the duty of the Executive to ensure to every one his own. Protestant incumbents in Ireland had at least learned that such language was inappropriate and impracticable. Their interests urgently required the modification of the tithe system.

The distress of the Irish clergy.

These facts were obvious enough to the committees which the two Houses of the Legislature determined to appoint. The Lords' Committee, reporting in February 1832, declared that a "complete extinction of tithes"—either "by commuting them for a charge upon land" or by "an exchange for an investment of land"—was required for "the interests of the Church and the lasting welfare" of Ireland. The Commons' Committee, in their preliminary report, professed themselves "unable to shut their eyes to the absolute necessity of an extensive change in the present system of providing for the ministers of the Established Church." They did "not hesitate to express the opinion that such a change, to be satisfactory and secure, must involve a complete extinction of tithes, including those to lay impropriators, by commuting them for a charge upon land, or an exchange for or investment in land.[3] The extinction of tithes, then, was the end which both committees had in view. But they both of them suggested a preliminary measure for the relief of the suffering tithe-

[1] Cf. Mr. Leader, in *Hansard*, vol. ix. p. 90; and Mr. Fitzgerald, Tithe Committee, Commons, p. 35.

[2] Ibid., p. 3.

[3] Lords' Committee, p. 4; Commons' Committee, p. 4.

owners. They proposed that the Government should be empowered to advance to each incumbent a sum not exceeding the amount due to him as tithes for the year 1831, and that it should be authorised to levy the arrears of tithes, and reimburse itself for its advances out of the sum which it thus succeeded in recovering.[1]

Tithe legislation in 1831.

The reports, in which these recommendations were made, were agreed to early in 1832. On the 8th of March, Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, and Stanley, in the House of Commons, announced the intention of the ministry to give effect to them. In both Houses the ministers intimated their desire to supplement their measure for the immediate collection of tithes with some proposal for their extinction, either by their commutation for a charge on land or by their exchange for real property. The House of Lords at once assented to Lansdowne's resolution, Eldon stoutly protesting against a measure which, from his old-fashioned standpoint, seemed ruinous to the Church.[2] The House of Commons, on the contrary, received the scheme with much more hesitation. The Irish members indignantly declared that the plan converted the Government into a tithe-proctor, and did not remedy the chief Irish grievance, the existence of tithes. The ministry, however, succeeded in carrying a series of resolutions detailing the difficulty which had arisen, and the distress among the clergy which had ensued from it; affirming the expediency of distributing a sum of money among the distressed incumbents whose tithes had been withheld; empowering the Crown to recover these advances by collecting the tithes due for the year 1831;[3] and pledging the Legislature to deal ultimately with the tithe system as a whole. A bill in accordance with these decisions was at once prepared, authorising the ministry to advance a sum of £60,000 to the distressed incumbents, and to take the necessary steps for collecting the arrears of tithes. The bill

[1] Lords' Report, p. 4; Commons' Report, p. 5.
[2] *Hansard*, vol. x. pp. 1269, 1298.
[3] Ibid., p. 1331; vol. xi. pp. 135, 970, 1013. Cf. *Spencer*, p. 398.

encountered a good deal of opposition in both Houses of Parliament. But it was supported, at every stage, by substantial majorities, and ultimately became law.[1]

In the meanwhile the Select Committees of the two Houses were steadily pursuing their inquiries into the tithe system. The Lords' Committee made their final report in March, the Commons' Committee in the following June.[2] The Lords' Report was a short document of four pages, briefly indicating the measures which should be taken for the removal of the existing difficulty. The Commons' Report was an elaborate review of the whole subject, terminating in recommendations similar to those which had been made by the Lords. Both committees thought the Act of 1823 had effected much good, and that the compositions concluded under it should be made permanent. Both committees thought that the Act should be made not only permanent but compulsory, and that every parish in Ireland should be compelled to conclude a composition for tithes. Both committees thought that the composition should, in future, be charged on the landlord or the last lessor, and not on the tenant,[3] the landlord being allowed a deduction for the trouble of collection. Both committees thought that the landlords should be allowed to redeem the tithe on advantageous terms, and that facilities should be afforded to tenants for life to enable them to do so. In addition to these recommendations the House of Commons' Committee proposed that the tithe which was unredeemed by the landlord should be redeemed by the State, and that the amount

[1] The Act is 2nd and 3rd William IV. c. 41. The debates on it will be found in *Hansard*, vol. xi. pp. 1235, 1364; and vol. xii. pp. 85, 572, 591, 631, 1363.

[2] Parliamentary Papers, Session 1832, Nos. 508 and 663.

[3] This recommendation was only capable of gradual application. One of the evils peculiar to Ireland arose from the subletting of land. A let land to B on a lease of lives renewable for ever; B let to C and D for 99 years; C to E and F for 31 years; E to G, H and I for 7 years; G to cottiers from year to year. G, H and I were at once subjected to tithe. After seven years the tithe would fall on E and F; after 31 years on C and D, and so on. See the case stated in Commons' Report, p. ix.

received for it should be invested in land to be held in trust for the Church.[1]

Such was the scheme suggested by the Tithe Committees. The scheme was, in reality, Stanley's, and Stanley lost no time in endeavouring to obtain the assent of Parliament to it. On the 5th of July he asked leave to introduce three bills—the first to make compositions for tithe permanent and compulsory; the second to establish ecclesiastical corporations, with power to hold land in Irish dioceses; the third to enable the tithe-owner to sell, and the ecclesiastical corporation to buy, the tithe. His speech rekindled the controversy which the previous measure of the Government had excited at an earlier period of the session. The Irish members desired that tithes should be extinguished, "not in name only, but in substance and unequivocally." Many Liberal members shared these views, and disliked the policy which Stanley was promoting. The great party which had just succeeded in carrying Reform was shattered and divided by these differences. Stanley found it necessary to abandon two out of his three measures, and to be satisfied with passing his compulsory tithe composition bill.[2]

Irish patriots and English Liberals had some reason for the annoyance which they expressed. Stanley had found the Irish Church tottering to its fall. He had propped up the feeble structure and enabled it to stand. His bill had made the tithes a little less objectionable, and had thus strengthened the position of the Irish clergy. A time, however, was rapidly coming when the policy and the propriety of investing a minority with exclusive religious privileges was to be loudly

1 See the Report. The House of Commons' Committee gave all the calculations on which their scheme was founded. The tithes in Ireland amounted to £600,000 a year. A deduction of 15 per cent. for the landlord's trouble would reduce them to £510,000. Land could be bought in Ireland at eighteen years' purchase. Land, therefore, to yield £510,000 could be bought for £9,180,000. If the tithe was redeemed at sixteen years' purchase of the gross amount its redemption would produce £9,600,000. Commons' Final Report, p. xii.

2 The Act is 2nd and 3rd Wm. IV. c. 119. For authorities for the above statements see *Hansard*, vol. xiv. pp. 95, 117, 228. Cf. *Spencer*, p. 439; and *Blackburne*, p. 142.

questioned. In the eighteenth century the fashionable scheme for governing Ireland depended on the conversion of its people. The easiest method of converting the Irish was the education of Irish children in the principles of the Protestant faith. If the children could only be trained in the way in which they should go the testimony of the wisest of men could be quoted to prove that they would not depart from it in their old age. The Turk had succeeded in applying the maxim of Solomon, and had converted Christian children, the prizes of war, into the fiercest of zealots and bravest of troops. The British Government could, at any rate, do what the Turk had succeeded in doing. The higher classes among the Irish who happened to be Roman Catholics were forbidden to avail themselves of the services of priests or tutors for their sons. The lower classes of the Irish were forced to forego all education for their children or send them to be instructed in Protestant Charter Schools. The combined influences of penal laws and education were to make the Irish a united, happy, and Protestant people.

Education in Ireland.

The miserable history of the Charter Schools has been related by Mr. Froude and repeated by Mr. Lecky.[1] The unfortunate children, who were to grow up happy Protestants under the benignant influences of kind Protestant masters, grew up to curse the foundations which had robbed the early years of their life of the consolations which childhood affords even to the poor. The child of the Irish cottier was frequently half-starved, was always half-clothed, but he at any rate shared with his father's pig a corner of his father's cabin at night; he was, at any rate, able to roam in the day wherever his little legs chanced to carry him. The sky of heaven was above him, the world of nature was around him; and, in blessed ignorance that there was any one cleaner or better fed than himself, he grew up from day to day as happy as the birds whose nests he tried to rob or the fish which it was his infant ambition to capture. The same child, forced into a Charter School, had, unhappily, all the discomforts of

The Charter Schools.

[1] *English in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 514; *Lecky's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 200.

his previous lot to endure, and was deprived of the freedom which had alleviated poverty. The funds of these institutions were wasted and perverted. The unfortunate children were frequently ill-used and neglected. Many of them died of diseases which were the inevitable consequence of bad food and diet. Those who survived left the institutions with a new reason added to the many reasons which they had inherited from their parents for hating the Saxon.

The Charter Schools received more than a million of money from the Legislature.[1] The investigations of Howard, the prison reformer, drew attention to the abuses which had crept into their administration; even amidst the corrupt surroundings of the first years of the nineteenth century their reform was loudly demanded; and in 1806, and again in 1824, Royal Commissions were appointed to inquire into the whole subject of Irish education. The two Commissions published in the aggregate twenty-three reports; and the House of Commons, probably alarmed at the voluminous information which was thus laid before it, referred the matter in 1827 to a Select Committee. The Select Committee endorsed the recommendations which had already been made by both Commissions. Both Commissions had recommended that Irish education should be founded on the principle that no attempt should be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect or denomination of Christians. The Committee, adopting this view, declared it to be of the utmost importance to bring together children of the different religious persuasions in Ireland, for the purpose of instructing them in general subjects of moral and literary knowledge, and providing facilities for their religious instruction separately. A wise clergyman of the Established Church, acting in concert with one of the Roman Catholic archbishops, proved by a practical experiment the possibility of carrying out the recommendations of Commissions and Committee.[2]

The Commissions of 1806 and 1824.

[1] Report on Poor of Ireland, Sess. 1830, Appendix P.

[2] The experiment was made by the Rev. Sir F. L. Blosse, with the cordial concurrence of Dr. Kelly, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam. In Sir F. L. Blosse's schools Roman Catholic and Protestant children read together from

Encouraged by this example, the Committee on the State of the Irish Poor in 1830 revived the Committee's suggestions, and strongly advised their immediate application.[1]

Inquiry had now done its utmost for Ireland; but the friends of education had not been satisfied with inquiry. In the eighteenth century they had endeavoured to convert the Irish by establishing Protestant Charter Schools. In the nineteenth century they were satisfied with supporting a society for the promotion of education. The Kildare Place Society —as it was called—undertook the education of teachers, the provision of cheap schools, and it also established or assisted various schools in different parts of the country. It endeavoured to avoid the rock on which many reformers had been wrecked by excluding religious instruction from its schools, insisting only on a portion of the Bible being read without comment. This compromise did not satisfy the Roman Catholics. They objected to a system which forbade catechetical instruction, and which interfered with the interpretation of the Scripture by the ordained ministers of the Church. They readily availed themselves of the opportunity, which the Kildare Place Society afforded them, of obtaining the services of trained teachers and the use of cheap school-books; but they objected to the children of the Roman Catholic poor being sent to the Kildare Place Schools.[2] In consequence of these objections the well-intentioned managers of the society in Kildare Place failed to exercise any extensive influence on the education of the Irish poor.[3] The Roman Catholic poor declined to send their children to the State-aided schools.

Kildare Place Schools.

the Douay Testament, sang together the same hymns—hymns and passages being selected by Dr. Kelly and Sir F. L. Blosse; and the Roman Catholic priest and Protestant children had equal access to the schools. See Report on Irish Poor, part ii. p. 111.

[1] Report, p. 50.

[2] Ibid. See especially Dr. Doyle's answers to Questions 4607, 4627, and 4636.

[3] The Kildare Place Society gradually passed into the hands of "a few professional fanatics who in that day were in the habit of seeking, through Protestantism and piety, a ready road to the Bench." *Life of Lord Cloncurry*, p. 376.

This condition of things was one which no Whig Ministry could afford to ignore. Commissions and Committees had recommended its remedy; it fell to Stanley's lot, as Chief Secretary, to deal with it. Stanley acted on the precise lines which had been laid down for him by the Committee of 1827. He constituted a Board of National Education in Dublin, to which he transferred the grant which he withdrew from the Kildare Place Society. The Board was composed of members of the Roman Catholic as well as of the Protestant Church, and was entrusted with the regulation of all the State-aided schools. These schools were to afford to the children of every sect the advantage of a combined moral and literary, and separate religious, instruction; and with this object selections only from the Bible were to be read in school-time on two days in the week. The Bible itself was only to be read before and after school hours on the remaining four.[1] These proposals were certainly not unfavourable to the Established Church. Favourable as they were, they were received with a shout of indignation. Inglis, in the House of Commons, raised a cry for the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible. Lord Roden, at a public meeting in Down, told the people that their children were to be deprived of the Word of God.[2] It was in vain that Grey, in one House, and Stanley, in the other, explained the true purport of the scheme, and showed that the Bible would continue to be read in school hours on two days out of every six, and that its use would be permissible before and after school-time on the remaining four. The heated Protestants, who were re-echoing Inglis's cry, were in no temper to listen to reason. The Irish Church was tottering to its fall, the life and property of every landlord were rendered insecure by the organised bands of Blackfeet and Whitefeet, which were inflicting a reign of terror on Ireland; and "these wise

Stanley's Education Bill.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xi. pp. 583–648; *Blackburne*, p. 282.

[2] Ibid., vol. xiv. pp. 662, 665. Inglis founded his cry on the words of Chillingworth.

legislators" were "debating whether the brats at school" should "read the whole Bible or only parts of it."[1]

Fortunately, however, the ministerial majority was so large that Stanley's opponents were only able to delay the scheme, and were not strong enough to reject it. A small House, towards the end of July, agreed to a vote in aid of the proposal.[2] A new measure of relief was thus conferred upon Ireland, and the Irish Roman Catholic was placed, in matters of education, on an equality with his Protestant fellow-subject. The ministers, probably, hoped that the steps which they had taken to remedy the tithe grievance and to remove the educational difficulty would have had the effect of pacifying Ireland. They soon discovered that the mere removal of a grievance did not in a moment obliterate the memories which its existence had created. The people under O'Connell's guidance professed themselves dissatisfied with the Irish Tithe Bill and the Irish Reform Bill. They had expected that tithes would be annihilated, and tithes were in some shape or other to be preserved. They had expected that Reform would restore to the forty-shilling freeholders the franchise of which Emancipation had deprived them, and Reform had done nothing of the kind. Irritated at these shortcomings, Whitefeet and Blackfeet continued the frightful system of organised terrorism in which they were daily becoming more proficient. A driver was murdered in broad daylight; a clergyman was shot dead on his own lawn; pitched battles continually took place between the military and the people; and, in the meanwhile, O'Connell, continuing his agitation, was declaring that attention would never be "paid to Irish interests until we see once again a Parliament in College Green."[3]

The year, then, was closing amidst fresh disturbances and fresh anxieties. The close of the year necessitated the dissolution of the old Parliament, and an appeal to the new constituencies. Dissolution had, in fact, been only delayed

[1] *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 267. The debates on the scheme are scattered through *Hansard*, vols. ix., x., xi., xii., xiii., xiv.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. xiv. p. 669.

[3] *Ann. Reg.*, 1832, Hist., pp. 293, 296.

to enable the necessary arrangements for the conduct of the general election to be concluded. These arrangements necessarily occupied the whole of the autumn of 1832. Parliament, which was prorogued on the 16th of August, was again prorogued on the 16th of October to the 3rd of December. On that day the last unreformed Parliament was formally dissolved—the old system, with all its abuses and its monopolies, was for ever terminated.

The Dissolution of 1832.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FALL OF LORD GREY.

The general election of 1832 was anticipated with mixed feelings by partisan politicians. The Reformers awaited with anxiety the results of the great change which they themselves had been instrumental in introducing; the Tories awaited with alarm the decision of the new constituencies. For the first time in recent history the majority of the House of Commons was to be returned by populous places; and timid statesmen, perhaps naturally, apprehended that the new electors would celebrate amidst orgies and riots their first exercise of the franchise. Happily these anticipations were disappointed. The elections, as usual, led to a few disorders, but the disturbances were not greater than those which had occurred on similar occasions before. The new law, which closed the poll in two days, instead of leaving it open for a fortnight, set a limit on the opportunities for riot. The great majority of the new constituencies conducted their first election without tumult, and justified the confidence of the ministry in extending the franchise to the middle classes of the population.

The election of 1832.

Nor did the assembly elected by a reformed constituency differ so materially from the unreformed House of Commons as politicians had anticipated. Most of the leading statesmen on both sides of the old House were returned to the new House of Commons. Althorp was re-elected for Northamptonshire, Graham for Cumberland, Charles Grant for Inverness-shire, Russell for Devonshire, Palmerston for Hampshire. Stanley, who had been forced in 1830 to take refuge in the royal borough of Windsor, was returned, with Mr. Wilson

Patten, for the northern division of the great manufacturing county of Lancashire. On the other side of the House, Peel was re-elected for Tamworth, Goulburn for the University of Cambridge, Herries for Harwich; Hardinge found a seat at Launceston, and Charles Wynn was again returned for Montgomeryshire. Three conspicuous members of the Tory party, however, found no support from the new constituencies. Wetherell, held responsible by many people for the excesses of the Bristol rioters, was defeated at Oxford; Murray, the distinguished officer, who had filled the position of Colonial Minister, was defeated in Perthshire; and Croker, shaking the dust off his shoes, and vowing that he would never sit in a reformed Parliament, withdrew from politics to literature and retirement. He had been distinguished, even amongst his Tory friends, by the violence of his opposition to Reform. He was, happily, singular among them in his inability to reconcile himself to the new system.

Statesmen of repute, whatever politics they professed, had thus little cause to find fault with the choice of the new constituencies. Ten-pound householders had proved themselves as capable of recognising an aptitude for politics as the proprietors of rotten boroughs. The representatives which the great constituencies selected were usually creditable to them. Manchester chose Poulett Thomson, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade; Birmingham, Attwood, the founder of the great Political Union; Leeds, Macaulay, the accomplished orator, whose speeches on Reform had won applause from an unreformed Parliament; Edinburgh, Jeffrey, whose literary fame has obscured his political reputation; and Abercromby, who, years before, had attacked the monopoly of the old constituency of the borough.[1] The great metropolitan boroughs were equally discriminating in their choice. London placed Grote, who afterwards became the historian of Greece, at the head of the poll; Westminster returned its old member, Burdett; and Hobhouse, who had succeeded Parnell as

The new House of Commons.

[1] *Ante*, vol. ii. p. 340.

Secretary at War. Marylebone gave a seat to Sir William Horne, who had lately succeeded Denman as Attorney-General; and Southwark selected Brougham, the Chancellor's brother. In a few places, however, politicians were frightened at perceiving that a very different class of persons was chosen. Five O'Connells were returned by five Irish constituencies; Cobbett, who had enraged and alarmed the Tories by the ability and boldness of his political writings, was elected for Oldham; and Gully, who had begun life as a prize-fighter, and who had subsequently made a fortune in the betting-ring, was elected for Pontefract.[1]

[1] Among those who were elected for the first reformed Parliament was Joseph Pease, a member of a rich and influential family in the North of England, and a Quaker. Pease's election afforded an opportunity for settling a question which had never previously been formally decided. He claimed his seat without taking the usual oath, but on making his solemn affirmation. The Speaker declined to settle the question on his own authority; and, on Althorp's motion, a Select Committee was appointed to report the laws and precedents bearing upon the matter. These precedents were very simple The Toleration Act had permitted the Quaker, "who shall be required upon any lawful occasion to take an oath in any case where, by law, an oath is required," to make his solemn affirmation instead. A subsequent Act of the same reign (7th and 8th William III. c. 34) had allowed the Quaker to give his evidence in courts of justice (except in criminal cases) upon his affirmation, instead of upon his oath. This Act, which was in the first instance only temporary, was made perpetual by an Act of George I. (1st George I., st. 2, c. 6). Soon afterwards, however, doubts arose whether affirmations could be allowed in the place of oaths in any case where by any Act of Parliament an oath is expressly required. These doubts were finally removed by an Act of George II. (22nd Geo. II. c. 46), which substituted the affirmation for the oath "in all courts of justice and other places where by law an oath is or shall be allowed or required." Such were the leading statutes which related to the matter. From 1698 to 1832 no person was elected to Parliament who claimed to take advantage of them. In the former year John Archdale was elected member for Chipping Wycombe, and asked leave to take his seat on making his affirmation. The House decided that the provisions of the 7th and 8th William III. did not apply to oaths required to be taken by members of Parliament, and in January 1698-9, ordered the Speaker to make out a new writ for Chipping Wycombe. Archdale's precedent was, however, no longer applicable: the 22nd George II. had substituted an affirmation for an oath in all "places where by law an oath is required, except in criminal trials." The Act of George II. was so universal that it could hardly be doubted that it applied to members of Parliament; and on the recommendation of Wynn, who acted as chairman of the committee, the House of Commons accordingly unanimously decided to

The new House of Commons, like the old, was naturally divided into two great parties. One of them still turned "a longing, lingering" glance at the past which was fading from view; the other turned from west to east to welcome the new day which was dawning on the horizon. Neither Whigs nor Tories, however, occupied the positions which they had filled before the dissolution. The old-fashioned Tories, indeed, adhered to the principles which Eldon still enunciated in the House of Lords, and which Wetherell had urged in the House of Commons. But Wetherell had lost his seat. Eldon's views were regarded as the natural result of an old man's preference for the system of his youth; and there were few men in the new House of Commons who had the courage, the capacity, or the disposition to enforce them. The Opposition was nothing without the assistance of Peel; and Peel took the earliest opportunity of declaring that his position was altered. "It had been said that he was opposed to all reform—the charge he directly denied. . . . He was for reforming every institution that really required reform, but he was for doing it gradually, dispassionately, and deliberately, in order that the reform might be lasting. . . . The King's Government had abstained from all unseemly triumph in the King's Speech respecting the measure of Reform. He would profit by their example, and would say nothing upon that head, but consider that question as finally and irrevocably disposed of. He was now determined to look forward to the future alone. . . . There were no means of governing this country but through the House of Commons; and, therefore, he was determined to take his stand in defence of law and

Parties in 1833.

Peel in 1833.

admit Pease on making his affirmation. See Report, Select Committee, Parliamentary Papers, Sess. 1833, No. 6. *Hansard*, vol. xv. pp. 387, 476, 639. Sir E. May, *Const. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 406, says that the House giving "a *wide* interpretation to the statutes, permitted Mr. Pease to take his seat on making an affirmation." With great deference to so distinguished an authority, I venture to think that Sir E. May's epithet misrepresents the case. Neither Charles Wynn nor Sir John Campbell—the only two members who spoke on the occasion—expressed any doubt as to the meaning of the statute, or as to the course which the House should take.

order from motives as truly independent as those by which any member of the most liberal opinions, and representing the largest constituency in the kingdom, was actuated."[1]

The extreme men of Peel's own party were not likely to welcome his promise to reform every institution which required reform; but the extreme men of the other party could not easily misinterpret his determination to take his stand in defence of law and order. Kindred differences to those which were separating the older Tories from the moderate politicians, who found their best spokesman in Peel, were visible among the Reformers. The Reformers were, in fact, divided into two parties. One, representing the old Whigs, timidly afraid of severing themselves from the traditions of the past; the other, represented by a mixed band of Radicals, Reformers, and Repealers, who regarded the Reform Bill as only the means to an end, and who were zealous to embark at once on the new enterprises which they fancied themselves in a position to undertake. In their judgment Church Establishments, Church Rates, Tithes, Offices, Pensions, Poor-Laws, Close Corporations, Slavery, Corn Laws, Game Laws, were so many ninepins which it was their urgent duty to knock down. A new Reform Bill, the Ballot, Popular Municipalities, and Free Labour were a few of the devices which they desired to set up. In the hot enthusiasm of parliamentary apprenticeship they failed to recognise the fact that reforms are the work of time, or to acknowledge the existence of two sides to questions on which they had satisfied themselves. Irritated at what they thought the apathy of the ministry, some of the boldest among them crossed the House and placed themselves in the seat which is usually accorded to the leader of the Opposition. Peel found himself accordingly pushed from his usual place, and forced to go up nearer to the Speaker.[2]

The Reformers.

Tories and Whigs both found their positions altered in the Reformed Parliament. As a natural consequence of this

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 385. [2] *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 353.

alteration, they both of them found that the names under which party warfare had been conducted for nearly two centuries were no longer applicable. The wisest among the Tories desired to free themselves from an appellation which was associated with the worst features of the old system of government. The wisest among the Whigs desired to exchange their old name for a new one, under which the extreme band of Economists, Radicals, Repealers, and Reformers would be willing to serve. Instructed by the careful explanation, which Peel had given of his principles, the more moderate among the Tories gradually claimed for themselves the title of Conservatives; while the more prudent among the Whigs adopted the singularly happy name of Liberal as the designation of their party. It would have been difficult to have found two words which expressed more conveniently the determination of the one party to take its stand with Peel in defence of law and order; or the resolution of the other to carry on the struggle for civil and religious liberty.

Tories and Whigs become Conservatives and Liberals.

There was, however, a clear distinction between the organisation of the Tories and Whigs of the olden time and the organisation of the Conservatives and Liberals of a Reformed Parliament. Up to a recent period the Tories had acted, on all occasions, compactly; the Whigs had exhibited an almost equal desire to cohere. But Conservatives and Liberals displayed from the first a much looser organisation. It was difficult to distinguish the different species of politicians who composed the two great political *genera* before the Reform Bill. In 1833 there was no difficulty in distinguishing the Whig from the Radical, or the modern Conservative from the old Tory. Radicalism, indeed, was no longer regarded with the detestation which it had excited only fifteen years before. In 1815 a man who professed himself a Radical could hardly claim to be a gentleman. He would hardly have been admitted into the society of gentlemen. The hatred of Radicalism even influenced the fashions of men's dress; and the fact that some Radicals wore white hats

The Tories and the Radicals.

brought white hats into disrepute.[1] There would have been nothing unpopular in wearing a white hat in 1833. The Radicals had become the popular candidates at every election. In 1815 they had been denounced by the Whigs. In 1833 they were busily denouncing the Whig leaders. They were openly expressing their preference for the old Tory ascendancy to the modern Whig rule; they were assailing Whig measures from the seats which under ordinary circumstances would have been occupied by the Tories alone. Their violence was so marked that a young man—who had acquired some notoriety as the author of a few clever novels—seriously proposed an alliance between Tories and Radicals. The practical application of the proposal did not even obtain for its author the suffrages of a majority of the electors of the little borough of High Wycombe. The young Tory democrat was defeated by a Grey; and the curious combination which he seriously suggested would have been long forgotten if the ambition of its originator had not ultimately been rewarded by his succession to the lead of the Tory party.[2]

The violence of the Radicals gained for the Government some support from the moderate Conservatives, who were content to take the advice of Peel. They necessarily saw that the defence of law and order—for which Peel had made his stand—could only be successfully conducted by the Whig Ministry. They had the prudence and patriotism to resist the temptation of embarrassing the Government, and to support it against the onslaught of the Radicals. The temperate policy which the moderate Conservatives thus pursued under Peel's guidance naturally led to a growing tendency of Conservatives and Whigs to blend with one another. Thus, to borrow an illustration from physics,

The Conservatives and the Whigs.

[1] See a curious letter in *Colchester*, vol. iii. p. 87, in which Hugh Leycester writes: "I have just heard of a Manchester hatter having received fifty white hats to be dyed black." Miss Cartwright expressly mentions that her uncle wore a white hat on being brought up for judgment in 1820.

[2] For the incidents of the High Wycombe elections of 1831 and 1832 see Mr. Hitchman's *Life of Lord Beaconsfield*, vol. i. pp. 61–73. Mr. Disraeli was proposed by a Tory and seconded by a Radical.

there were opposite forces which were influencing party warfare in 1833. A centripetal force—the defence of law and order—was inducing Conservatives and Whigs to gravitate towards each other. Centrifugal forces—an insatiable appetite for change on the one side, a "panic dread" of Reform on the other—were inducing Radicals and Tories to fly off from the solid bodies which were fulfilling with regularity and order their normal duties in the political system.

The Radicals seized the first opportunity of displaying their animosity towards the Whigs. A new House of Commons had necessarily to elect a new Speaker; and the election for the Speakership afforded the opportunity for a preliminary struggle. Since the retirement of Abbot, the first Lord Colchester, in 1817, Manners Sutton had filled the chair of the House of Commons. Sutton was the eldest son of the distinguished prelate whom the favour of the king had raised to the primacy of the Church. He was the grandson of the third Duke of Rutland. He was essentially, therefore, a representative of the old system which the Reform Bill had destroyed; and he himself desired to retire from the chair before the new Parliament assembled. Towards the close of the session of 1832 he intimated his wishes to the House; and, on Althorp's motion, the House awarded him in return for his long service a pension of £4000 a year.[1] The House had thus given a substantial acknowledgment of its sense of Sutton's services; and it was expected that the liberality of the House would be followed by some mark of favour from the Crown. Months, however, passed by, and Manners Sutton did not receive a peerage. The general election took place, and Manners Sutton sought the suffrages of a Conservative body, the members of the University of Cambridge. The new House of Commons met, and Sutton took his seat on the Opposition benches. By this time, however, it was tolerably well known that ministers had withheld a peerage from Sutton because they desired him to resume the Speakership. They hesitated to meet the first Reformed Parliament with an

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xiv. pp. 931, 993.

inexperienced Speaker, and, in consequence, persuaded Sutton to remain in office.

The Radicals were annoyed at the decision of the Cabinet. They thought that the appointment of a Tory Speaker should not be proposed by a Whig Ministry in a reformed House of Commons. Hume accordingly, anticipating the ministry, at once proposed Littleton for the chair. Littleton was in many respects an ineligible candidate for the post. Tact and judgment are the chief qualifications for the chair of any assembly; and in tact and judgment Littleton was deficient. Littleton, however, was a Whig; Sutton was a Tory; and the extreme Radicals preferred an injudicious Speaker of their own way of thinking to an experienced opponent. Against Littleton's express wish they insisted on carrying his claims to a division. The result proved their weakness. The Tory party naturally supported Sutton; the Whigs also voted for him. The Radicals were only able to secure 31 votes for Littleton, while 241 were given against him.[1]

The contest for the Speakership.

The contest proved the determination of the Radicals to stand aloof from the ministry; and their determination became much more plain when the business of the session formally began. Every one was conscious that the state of Ireland required immediate attention from the ministry and the legislature. The disturbances which had disgraced 1831 were continued throughout 1832. They extended throughout the whole of Leinster; they afflicted portions of the three other provinces. Associations of men, known as Pacificators,[2] organised the country, defying the

The state of Ireland.

1 *Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 76. Greville says, vol. ii. p. 333, that, in the previous November, there had been a dispute in the Cabinet about the Speakership, Althorp supporting Littleton, the rest of the Cabinet Abercromby. This story is hardly consistent with Brougham's account, vol. iii. p. 230, and Sir Denis le Marchant's (*Spencer*, p. 449), and with the fact that Sutton had not received his peerage. It must have been withheld with the intention of asking him to stand for the chair again. Cf. Torrens' *Melbourne*, vol. ii. p. 73; and Raikes' *Journal*, i. 89.

2 O'Connell's advice had pointed to the institution of Pacificators and Regulators. "I am anxious," he had said on one occasion, "that every man who pays a shilling a year should be enrolled among the volunteers of his parish,

powers of the Irish Government. The people dared not resist the decrees of these associations. Death was the almost inevitable result of disobedience to their commands. A member of Parliament ventured on letting some land to a Scotchman. He was served with a notice from "Captain Whitefoot" that the Scotchman must go. A poor old man, Patrick Lalor, seventy years of age, refused to give up a little land which he had hired in opposition to the views of the Regulators. He was taken out of his house and shot. These were only instances of the numerous outrages which were almost universal throughout Ireland.[1] During twelve months thirty-two murders or attempted murders were perpetrated in Kilkenny; thirty-four houses were burned; the cattle of thirty-six farmers were houghed; 519 burglaries and 178 serious assaults were committed. In the same period, in Queen's County, there were 60 murders, 626 burglaries, 115 malicious injuries to property, and 209 serious assaults on individuals. "Assassination," wrote the Attorney-General for Ireland, is "the order of the day, and the habitual practice of those who make robbery their occupation."[2]

One symptom was even more distressing than the outrages which were being committed almost every day. Pacificators and Whitefeet carried on their reign of terror so effectually that peaceable people were afraid to give evidence against them, or to serve on juries summoned to try the offenders. Lalor's son was supposed to have been an eye-witness of his father's murder; but he refused to disclose the names of its perpetrators. A gentleman who had seen his father-in-law murdered at his own gate declared that "he would submit to any penalty rather than appear as a witness, for he could not do that without eventually forfeiting his life to the vengeance

and that some one individual will accept the office of Pacificator, and that Regulators will also be appointed." The Whitefeet called themselves "the gentlemen Regulators of the grievances of their oppressed country." *Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 1285.

[1] Very long lists of outrages may be found in *Hansard*, vol. xv. pp. 1212, 1254, 1260, 1263.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. xv. pp. 185, 733. Cf. ibid., pp. 294, 727, 730.

of those who had murdered his relation." At a trial at Kilkenny the jury was dismissed, the members of it being unable to agree on a verdict. The names of those who had desired a conviction were immediately printed in red on a placard headed "Blood! Blood! Blood!" and they were forced to leave the country. It was, perhaps, only natural after this experience that the gentlemen of the county refused to serve on juries.[1] The reign of terror had effectually superseded the reign of law.

The Government found itself unable to cope with these outrages. The military force in Ireland was strengthened. The Yeomanry was augmented; the Constabulary was wearied out with almost ceaseless labours. Pacificators, Whitefeet, and Regulators were too strong for Police, Yeomanry, and Troops. The military force was, moreover, harassed by the necessity for carrying out the Tithe Law of the previous session. The Tithe Law, to quote O'Connell's expression, had turned the Viceroy into Tithe-Proctor-General for Ireland.[2] The Government had not suffered the law to remain a dead letter. They had instituted from 9000 to 10,000 processes for tithes.[3] Force was freely used to facilitate their collection. In one case a company of Lancers, two pieces of artillery, and two companies of the 92nd Highlanders were called out to attend the sale of one cow.[4] The constant parade of military force proved ineffectual. Out of a sum of £104,000, which the Government was authorised to collect, it only succeeded in obtaining £12,000.[5]

Irish tithes.

It was the unanimous opinion of statesmen of all parties that it was necessary to do something for Ireland. Hardly any two men were, however, agreed on the proper course to be taken. The members of the Cabinet differed from one another upon it. The Viceroy differed from the Chief Secretary, the Chief Secretary from the leader of the House of Commons. These differences

Differences in the ministry upon Irish questions.

1 *Hansard*, vol. xv. pp. 731, 732; and cf. 194.
2 Ibid., p. 155.
3 Ibid., pp. 423, 444.
4 Ibid., p. 214.
5 Ibid., vol. xx. p. 342

were known in Ireland. Anglesey was in the habit of communicating his complaints and opinions to Lord Cloncurry; and Cloncurry, who had been the friend of Fitzgerald and Emmett, and who was the correspondent of O'Connell, was certain to give a wide circulation to the Viceroy's views. Anglesey was in favour of settling the tithe question, of reforming the Irish Church, of introducing a Poor Law into Ireland, and of accomplishing all these measures of relief before the introduction even of a measure of coercion.[1] Stanley, on the contrary, was not in favour of carrying relief to the extremes for which Anglesey was prepared, and he thought it absolutely necessary that relief should be accompanied or preceded by coercion. His policy was wittily described in the House of Commons as a "quick alternation of kicks and kindness."[2] The known differences between the Viceroy and the Chief Secretary did not increase the efficiency of the Irish Government. Tory peers, who ascribed the misfortunes of Ireland to the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and who had neither forgotten nor forgiven the memorable advice to agitate for relief, which Anglesey had given to the Irish on that occasion, were full of denunciations against the Viceroy.[3] Radicals and Repealers, on the contrary, hating the repressive measures which were supported by Stanley, had no patience with the Chief Secretary.

Stanley and his colleagues.

Stanley was perfectly aware of the unpopularity which he had incurred in Ireland, and was, in consequence, anxious to be relieved from his duties as Chief Secretary. It was tacitly understood that he should be promoted to some other office during the recess, and he constantly referred to the proposed arrangement in conversation with his friends.[4] It is easy to settle plans beforehand; it is not always equally easy to put them into operation. None of the other ministers were particularly anxious to vacate

[1] See his letters to Lord Cloncurry, in Cloncurry's *Recollections*, p. 366.

[2] The expression was Bulwer Lytton's. *Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 1234.

[3] Ibid., pp. 743, 749, 843, 847.

[4] *Brougham*, vol. iii. p. 245. Greville says that the understanding amounted to "a positive pledge." Vol. ii. p. 365.

power and place for the sake of providing for Stanley; and Grey was consequently compelled to wait, in the hope of some opportunity occurring which might enable him to carry out the proposed arrangement. The difficulty was, in this way, temporarily postponed; but, in the meanwhile, the recess was drawing towards a close, and the ministers were assembling in town. Stanley brought with him to the Cabinet the heads of two measures for Ireland—a Peace Preservation Act and a Church Temporalities Act. Their mere suggestion very nearly broke up the great Reform Ministry. Althorp thought that the Peace Preservation Act went too far, that the Church Temporalities Act did not go far enough, and offered to retire. He was only induced to remain on learning that his own resignation would be followed by that of the Prime Minister, and on the Cabinet consenting to modifications in both bills.[1] But this compromise did not restore entire peace to the distracted Cabinet. Durham objected still more strongly than Althorp to the views of Church reform which found favour with Stanley. As usual, he reserved his violence and abuse for his father-in-law, Grey.[2] Durham's influence in the Cabinet, however, was not great. Althorp's consent led to the adoption of Stanley's proposal; and the sharp crisis which had threatened to terminate the existence of the Whig Ministry was, for the moment, ended.

The dissensions which had occurred in the ministry recalled attention to the arrangement which had virtually been made at the close of the preceding session. If Stanley's promotion had taken place some other minister would have been charged with the duty of originating Irish legislation. The measures which had provoked Althorp's resignation would, probably, have never been heard of, and the differences which were still dividing the Cabinet would never have arisen. In the beginning of December, Brougham, impressed with these considerations, proposed that Sir James Kempt, the Master-General of the Ordnance, should resign; that Anglesey

[1] *Spencer*, pp. 445–447.

[2] *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 333; but cf. *Brougham*, vol. iii. p. 256.

should be appointed to succeed him, being at the same time admitted to the Cabinet; that either Goderich or Melbourne should succeed Anglesey as Viceroy; and that Stanley should become Secretary of State in place of one of them. He added that he could not remain in office unless some such change was made. Grey had the same answer ready for Brougham which he had already given to Althorp: the Chancellor's resignation would dissolve the ministry. Brougham, probably, had never been very sincere in his threat to retire. As Grey would not yield to him it was necessary for him to yield to Grey. No steps were taken to reconstruct the Administration, and Parliament was permitted to meet with Anglesey as Viceroy and Stanley as Chief Secretary.[1]

His unpopularity.

In the meanwhile circumstances had increased Stanley's unpopularity among the Liberals. He had gone down to Lancashire seeking the suffrages of the electors of that great county. With his head full of Ireland, he had naturally spoken, and spoken strongly, on Irish subjects. O'Connell was demanding Repeal as the only remedy for Ireland. Stanley told the men of Lancashire that he considered Repeal equivalent to the dismemberment and destruction of the empire, and that he would, if need were, resist it to the death.[2] It is never very wise for a constitutional statesman to talk of resisting any measure to the death. In this country and in this century legislation, happily, turns on the decision of the Legislature, and not on the personal prowess of its advocates. Stanley's words were soon exaggerated and misrepresented. Irish newspapers and Irish agitators declared that Stanley had threatened the Irish with war to the knife, or with war to the death. Even English Liberals, jealous, as Grey thought, of Stanley's eminence, placed the same construction on his words.[3]

Amidst the passions which were thus aroused the first Reformed Parliament met for the despatch of business. The

[1] *Brougham*, vol. iii. pp. 233, 252.

[2] I have followed Stanley's own explanation of what he said on this occasion. *Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 424.

[3] *Brougham*, vol. iii. p. 260.

speech which the king delivered from the throne was a very long one. One part of it was devoted to the troubles which were distracting the Continent, and which will receive consideration in another chapter. Another part of it referred to the "spirit of insubordination and violence," which had "risen to the most fearful height," in Ireland. The treatment which Ireland should receive was hinted in the Speech. A quick alternation of kicks and kindness was to satisfy and subdue the Irish. Whitefeet and Repealers were assured that Parliament would "probably find that, although the Established Church of Ireland is, by law, permanently united with that of England, the peculiarities of their respective circumstances will require a certain consideration." In case the Repealers derived too much gratification from this paragraph, the Speech wound up with a threat of coercion. "I feel confident," said the king, "that you will be ready to adopt such measures of salutary precaution, and to entrust to me such additional powers, as may be found necessary for controlling and punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and for preserving the legislative union between the two countries which, with your support and under the blessings of Divine Providence, I am determined to maintain by all the measures in my power, as indissolubly connected with the peace, security, and welfare of my people."[1] It was not difficult to trace the hand which had penned this paragraph. The king had been made to repeat the substance of Stanley's electioneering speech. Stanley had told the men of Lancashire that he would if need were resist Repeal to the death. The king told his Parliament that he was determined to maintain the Union by all the measures in his power.

Parliament meets.

This determination infused unusual warmth into the debate on the Address. The Lords, indeed, do not seem to have realised that there was anything remarkable in the king's announcement. They hardly deigned to notice so uninteresting a subject as Ireland, and devoted the couple of hours which they thought proper to give to the Speech

The debate on the Address.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 90.

to the affairs of other nations.[1] The Commons had hardly a single word to say about Portugal or Belgium; but they occupied four long nights with an angry debate on the wrongs of Ireland, and on the autocratic conduct of Stanley. O'Connell came down to the House in a fury. His rage was increased by the language of Lord Ormelie, the new member for Perthshire, who had been entrusted with the task of moving the Address.[2] Ormelie probably thought that a maiden speech should contain a fine passage. He could think of nothing finer than a comparison of O'Connell and his fellow-Repealers with "those harpies or birds of prey who had soared over and watched the agonies of their victim, ready to pierce their destructive talons into its side."[3] O'Connell disposed of the unwise metaphor in five minutes. "What a curse was it for Ireland that every popinjay you met in the streets, who was capable of uttering fifteen words, was sure to lard his sentences by sarcasms against Ireland!"[4] For himself he had other work to do than to reply to popinjays. He had to denounce "the bloody and brutal Address" which the ministers were proposing—"the brutal and the bloody Speech" which the king had been advised to deliver. He had to denounce the minister who, during his short career in Ireland, had achieved that which had never been accomplished before—he had contrived to make the whole people of Ireland unanimous, for all persons there concurred in considering him most unfit for the government of that country. Yet the Right Honourable gentleman was "the lord of the ascendant—dictating to the ministry the measures to be pursued."[5]

The attack upon Stanley.

The keynote had been struck by O'Connell. For four nights its tone was imitated by Repealers and Radicals. Member after member rose to denounce the Chief Secretary for Ireland. "Enshrined in a fancied aristocratic superiority of birth and station," said one member,

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xv. pp. 90–135.

[2] Lord Ormelie owed his selection, probably, to the fact that he had defeated Sir G. Murray, the Colonial Secretary in the Wellington Ministry, and the rival candidate for Perthshire.

[3] *Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 143.

[4] Ibid., p. 152.

[5] Ibid., p. 148, 159, 161, 177.

"the Right Honourable gentleman seemed to think it quite beneath his lofty reputation to hold out the olive-branch to Ireland." "The Right Honourable gentleman," said another member, "seemed to play with men as if they were so many puppets, and not human beings like himself." He had "done nothing for the peace of Ireland, and everything for her danger," was the emphatic condemnation of a third. "The Right Honourable gentleman," said a fourth, "had often many ungracious things to do, but it so happened he possessed a singular facility of doing them in the most ungracious manner."[1] "The Right Honourable gentleman," said a fifth, "was the real agitator." "The arch-Repealer was the Right Honourable gentleman the Secretary for Ireland."[2]

Stanley himself had spoken early on the first night. During the remainder of that sitting, and for the three other nights' debate which followed it, he was compelled to listen to the unmeasured abuse which speaker after speaker cast upon him. He had the mortification of noticing that his colleagues listened to the invective in silence, and that the only generous defence of his administration was attempted by Peel. "I am afraid," said Peel, "of saying what I think of his conduct; for, however impartial my testimony as a public man may be, I am afraid that my testimony might only increase the efforts which are made to ruin his reputation. Mine, however, is the independent testimony of an independent public man, and I only withhold the eulogy which I should otherwise bestow as his due upon the Right Honourable gentleman lest it should increase the numbers of his enemies. I have heard the Right Honourable Secretary often taunted with his aristocratical bearing and demeanour. I rather think that I should hear fewer complaints on that head if the Right Honourable gentleman were a less powerful opponent in debate."[3]

He is defended by Peel.

The support which Peel accorded to the ministry enabled

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xv. pp. 197, 198, 242, 358. The second and third of these dicta were by no less personages than the late Mr. Roebuck and the late Lord Lytton.

[2] Ibid., p. 405.

[3] Ibid., p. 370.

it to carry the proposed Address by a large majority. O'Connell wished to refer it to a committee of the whole House, and was defeated by 428 votes to 40. Tennyson, the member for Lambeth, desired to amend it by a promise to associate the measures of coercion which it might prove necessary to pass, with "a close and diligent investigation into the causes of discontent in Ireland," and was defeated by 393 votes to 60.[1] The minority which supported O'Connell consisted mainly of Irish members. The prominent members of the Radical party joined the Repealers in supporting Tennyson. The Government, however, had reason to be satisfied with both divisions. It had succeeded in defeating Radicals and Repealers by a majority of more than six to one. What more could any ministry desire? The Grey Ministry had yet to learn that the sullen support of a discontented party may be almost as damaging as defeat. The abuse with which the ministers were assailed on all sides convinced them, however, that they must lose no time in explaining the measure of relief which they had been preparing for Ireland.

Althorp introduces an Irish Church Bill.

Under ordinary circumstances it would have been natural that Stanley should have been entrusted with the task of introducing the measures of the Government. Ministers, however, hesitated to entrust the duty to a statesman who had covered himself with unpopularity; and put up Althorp, as leader of the House, to explain the proposals. The Irish Church had lately been called "the great grievance of Ireland."[2] Out of a population of 8,000,000, only 800,000 Irish embraced the opinions of the Church. The machinery for superintending the spiritual interests of the faithful few was admirable. Ireland was divided into 1400 benefices, amply endowed with about £600,000 a year. The incumbents were supervised by twenty-two Bishops, who enjoyed incomes amounting to £150,000 a year. The capitular establishments drew about £25,000 a year more. The whole annual income applicable to the support and maintenance

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xv. pp. 455, 458.

[2] Ibid., p. 241.

of the Church amounted to £775,000 a year. These figures, however, only imperfectly represented the burden which the maintenance of the Irish Church imposed upon Ireland. The Bishops derived the chief part of their revenues from landed estates. Let on leases, renewable by fines, or on leases for lives, the rental of these estates did not exceed one-sixth of the value of the land. In addition to the revenues which the Church enjoyed, she had the power of imposing a rate or cess on the whole of Ireland. The Church cess, it was estimated, yielded £60,000 or £70,000 a year. In one way or another more than £800,000 a year was expended in providing for the spiritual necessities of the 800,000 members of the Irish Church.[1]

Such was the grievance with which the ministry had to deal. Althorp dealt with it by imposing a tax on all benefices of upwards of £200 a year, ranging from 5 to 15 per cent., according to the income of the incumbent. The Bishops and the chapters were at the same time subjected to similar deductions from their incomes. This tax, which it was estimated would yield at least £60,000 a year, was to be paid to commissioners appointed to receive it, and to be expended, under their orders, on the repair of churches, the building of glebe houses and other works. This arrangement would make it possible to abolish the Church cess, and thus remove one of the grievances connected with the Irish Church. The anomaly of retaining twenty-two Bishops to supervise the interests of 800,000 people was to be terminated, and ten of the twenty-two were to be ultimately extinguished. Their extinction effected a saving of at least £60,000 a year; and this sum, Althorp intimated, the Legislature might deal with as it chose.[2]

The scheme was received with mixed feelings. High Churchmen, like Mr. Newman, bitterly complained that the measure was extinguishing one-half the candlesticks of the

[1] See Lord Althorp's speech, *Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 561. O'Connell subsequently disputed his estimate of the Church's revenues as too low. See ibid., p. 876.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 574.

Irish Church.[1] In one sense Mr. Newman was right. The twenty-two candles had long given only a feeble and uncertain light, but the candlesticks in which they stood were as richly gilt as ever. Old-fashioned Tories, like Inglis and Goulburn, denounced the proposal as opposed to the Coronation Oath and subversive of the rights of property.[2] Old-fashioned Tory principles were, however, unpopular in the first Reformed Parliament. Peel himself had the good sense to make a "temporising"[3] speech, committing him to nothing. On the other hand, O'Connell, overjoyed at the repeal of Church rates, expressed, at once, "his great satisfaction and delight," and promised Althorp his most hearty support.[4] A wise measure of relief had done something to conciliate the Irish.

Unfortunately, the reconciliation thus brought about was only of short duration. The Irish policy of Stanley involved the "quick alternation of kicks and kindness." Althorp had brought forward his measure of relief on the 12th of February; on the 15th, Grey introduced into the Lords his measure of repression. Such a proposal had not been made in a British Parliament since the memorable autumn when Sidmouth and Castlereagh introduced the Six Acts. The bill, as the Prime Minister admitted, combined the provisions of the "Proclamation Act, the Insurrection Act, the partial application of martial law, and the partial suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act."[5] The Lord Lieutenant was to be at liberty to suppress all meetings; he was to be empowered to declare any county to be in a state of disturbance; and, in a disturbed district, it was to be penal to be out of doors between sunset and sunrise. Ireland was already accustomed to provisions of this character. She had evaded them by the refusal of her juries to convict their fellow-countrymen. This solitary resource was no

The Coercion Bill.

[1] See his letter to Archbishop Whateley, in Whateley's Life, vol. i. p. 235.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. xv. pp. 578, 588.

[3] The epithet is Greville's (vol. ii. p. 354). Cf. the speech, *Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 598.

[4] Ibid., pp. 577, 578.

[5] Greville (vol. ii. p. 359) calls it "a *consommé* of insurrection-gagging Acts, suspension of Habeas Corpus, martial law, and one or two other little hards and sharps."

longer to be left to her. Offenders in disturbed districts were to be tried by courts-martial. The courts were to consist of not less than five, or more than nine officers. No officer under twenty-one years of age, or of less than two years' standing, was to serve upon them. They were to have the assistance of a king's counsel or serjeant. They were not, without the express authority of the Lord Lieutenant, to try any offence to which the penalty of death was annexed, or to inflict a severer sentence than transportation. With these exceptions the liberties of the Irish people were to be handed over to military tribunals.[1]

The measure, revolutionary as it was, in the true sense of the term, hardly excited a remonstrance in the Lords. Introduced on the 15th of February, it was read a second time on Monday, the 18th. It passed through committee on Tuesday, the 19th; the report was considered on Thursday, the 21st; and on Friday, the 22nd of February, the bill was read a third time and passed.[2] The Lords hardly thought it necessary to discuss a measure which was fatal to freedom in Ireland. The apathy, however, with which the bill was regarded in the Lords did not extend to the Commons. On the 18th of February, while the Peers were assenting to the principle of the measure, O'Connell took the opportunity which a motion for supply afforded him of drawing attention to the woes of Ireland. Sheil followed O'Connell, quoting extracts from the speeches in which Brougham and other members of the ministry had denounced coercion in 1822.[3] The debate was irregular; but it served the purpose of warning the ministers of the opposition which was awaiting them. Friends of force began to doubt the possibility of passing the Coercion Bill unaltered.[4] Friends of conciliation began to inquire whether, if the Coercion Bill were passed, the Church Bill would be persevered with. Stanley found it necessary to say, "in the

The opposition to it.

[1] Lord Grey's speech, *Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 718. See especially pp. 737–739.
[2] *Hansard*, vol. xv. pp. 718, 836, 932, 1023, 1090.
[3] Ibid., pp. 873, 910, 911.
[4] *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 362.

name of the Cabinet, that the Government was pledged to carry" both measures. "The rejection of either would equally establish this fact, that the Administration did not possess the confidence of the two Houses of Parliament, and therefore could not continue to conduct the affairs of the country."[1]

On the evening on which Stanley's pledge was given the Coercion Bill passed the Lords; and Althorp undertook to introduce it into the Commons on the following Wednesday. He was not allowed to do so before another preliminary debate was raised. Roe, the member for Cashel, moved for copies of the correspondence on which the bill had been founded. The motion had the effect of eliciting another strong declaration from Stanley. "Ministers," said he, "were ready to stake their responsibility as a Government and their continuance in the offices which they had the honour to hold; they were ready to stake their political character as members of the Legislature, and their honour as gentlemen, on this measure; and if they did not vindicate the positive and absolute necessity of it he was willing to acknowledge that they would be unworthy of the public confidence, whether they were regarded as men or as ministers.'[2]

Stanley had staked the reputation of the ministry on the results of the debate. Liberal members who distrusted coercion, and who desired some excuse to justify their votes for it, loudly cheered the uncompromising declaration of the Secretary for Ireland. The case for the ministry, it was thought, must indeed be strong when a member of the Cabinet could court discussion in this way. Althorp rose to explain the measure. The crowded House awaited the justification which Stanley had assured it was coming. It waited in vain. Althorp recounted a list of outrages which proved conclusively that Ireland was in a state of abnormal disturbance. What then? "A Special Commission had been issued to try offenders, and the result had been completely successful." The argument which was to have convinced the House of the necessity for the measure

It is introduced into the Commons.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 1104. [2] Ibid., p. 1203.

only drew forth cheers from O'Connell and the Repealers. The Liberal majority, sullen and disappointed, asked one another whither their leader was leading them. Tennyson, expressing the almost universal opinion, declared that Althorp had failed to prove that "the ordinary laws of the land would not be sufficient to put an end to the disturbances," and proposed the postponement of the bill for another fortnight. Other members of ability and weight rose to support the proposal which Tennyson had thus made. A single "tame and ineffective" speech had apparently destroyed the prospects of the measure."[1]

This result was, of course, exceptionally mortifying to Stanley. He had staked his honour as a gentleman and his credit as a minister on the case for the bill, and no case whatever had been made out for it. Some effort, it was evident, must be made to redeem the position which Althorp had lost, and Stanley took the papers which he had given to his leader and withdrew to study them alone. He easily mastered details with which his office had made him familiar, and in a couple of hours was ready for the task which his leader's inefficient statement had made it necessary for him to undertake. He rose under every disadvantage. The House was excited against a measure which it thought unnecessary; there was an almost universal disposition to throw the blame of it upon Stanley. All the evil which the ministry was doing was associated with the Chief Secretary for Ireland; the good which they were promising to do was supposed to be obnoxious to him. He rose. "He explained with admirable clearness the insecure and alarming state of Ireland. . . . The House became appalled and agitated at the dreadful picture which he placed before their eyes; they felt for the sorrows of the innocent; they were shocked at the dominion of assassins and robbers. When he had produced a thrilling effect by these descriptions he turned upon O'Connell, who led the opposition to the

Stanley's vindication of the bill.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xv. pp. 1210-1239. "Tame and ineffective" are Lord Russell's epithets. *Recollections and Suggestions*, p. 112. Cf. *Spencer*, p. 455.

measure, and who seemed a short time before about to achieve a triumph. . . . He recalled to the recollection of the House of Commons that, at a recent public meeting, O'Connell had spoken of the House of Commons as 658 scoundrels.[1] In a tempest of scorn and indignation he excited the anger of the men thus designated against the author of the calumny. The House, which two hours before seemed about to yield to the great agitator, was now almost ready to tear him to pieces. In the midst of the storm which his eloquence had raised, Stanley sat down, having achieved one of the greatest triumphs ever won in a popular assembly by the power of oratory."[2] He had vindicated the claims of order; and no one urged against him the reflection of De Tocqueville: "C'est à travers le bon ordre que tous les peuples sont arrivés à la tyrannie."[3]

Eloquence had saved the ministry from a humiliating defeat. But even Stanley's eloquence did not induce the Irish to abandon the contest. Six nights were passed in debating the motion for leave to introduce the bill; two more were devoted to its discussion on the second reading. Six more were occupied with the consideration of the bill in committee, and on all of them the wordy warfare was long and violent. The Irish had one advantage on their side, which

The bill is passed.

[1] The speech was made at a meeting of the Trades' Unions. Cf. Raikes' *Journal*, vol. i. p. 163. O'Connell's words were differently reported in different newspapers. According to his own account of the matter his words were, "that the injustice from individuals might be punished by law, but that no punishment could be inflicted if that injustice were carried into execution by 600. He then went on—as was not uncommon in speaking, to further illustrate his position, but without intending any connection between them—to say, that if one scoundrel attempted to rob you, you might resist him by force, but if 600 did so, you could not resist them. . . . He could not have intended to apply that epithet (scoundrel) to the members of the House. He must have included himself in the number." (*Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 1291.)

[2] Russell's *Recollections and Suggestions*, p. 112. Lord Russell's recollection of the speech was confirmed by all contemporary accounts. Abercromby told Sir D. le Marchant that, "had it been the old House, I should have quietly walked home and put on my nightcap, under the conviction that Stanley in a few weeks would be Prime Minister, and remain so as long as he pleased, governing us on Tory principles, for the whole speech was in that spirit." (*Spencer*, p. 445, note.)

[3] *Démocratie en Amerique*, vol. iv. p. 221.

they had the dexterity to turn to profitable account. A committee, appointed in the previous session to consider the state of Ireland, had reported that "the law when vigorously administered is adequate to put down outrages."[1] The view of the committee had been confirmed by Althorp's speech. But, if it were correct, how was it possible to prove the necessity for superseding the ordinary tribunals of the country with courts-martial? It is true that Stanley, in his eloquent appeal, had declared that "there was the greatest possible reluctance in every part of Ireland to appear as jurors."[2] The Government had provided a remedy for this difficulty by another bill, which enabled the venue in criminal cases to be changed to an adjoining county.[3] The ministry might at any rate wait and test the effect of this bill before committing the liberties of the Irish to beardless officers. The ministers, however, declined to give way. They consented, indeed, to one amendment, which disqualified all officers below the rank of captain from sitting on a court; and to another, which required five members of the court to be unanimous before a conviction could take place.[4] These slight concessions did not satisfy O'Connell. His efforts, however, were not rewarded with any further success. The majority, stimulated by the recollection of Stanley's eloquence, steadily supported the Government. Before the end of March the bill had passed through all its stages in the House of Commons. On the 1st of April the amendments introduced into it by the Commons received the assent of the Lords.[5]

The wiser members of the Government, however, were conscious of the strain which the measure had imposed on the fidelity of their supporters; and were anxious, therefore, to lose no time in alternating the policy of kicks with a measure of kindness. On the 11th of March

The Church Bill.

[1] See Report, State of Ireland, Parliamentary Papers, Sess. 1831–2, No. 677, p. 4.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 1266.

[3] For the Change of Venue Bill see ibid., p. 1093.

[4] See ibid., vol. xvi. p. 589.

[5] For the chief divisions on the bill see ibid., pp. 601, 696, 768, 871, 1283. For the assent of the Lords, ibid., p. 1294.

Althorp introduced the bill for the Reform of the Irish Church, the provisions of which he had already explained to the House. He asked the House to fix the 14th for its second reading. The bill was not in print, and Peel rightly urged that some little delay should be allowed before this step was taken. The moderate course which Peel had steadily pursued throughout the session, the assistance which he had readily yielded to the ministry during the debates on Ireland, ought to have ensured compliance with his request. Althorp, however, urged forward by O'Connell, refused to give way. The House, by a large majority, supported its leader,[1] and the second reading was fixed for the 14th of March. Haste is proverbially different from speed, and the old adage received a new illustration in the history of the Church Bill. The bill imposed a tax on all Irish benefices worth £200 a year, and no tax can be imposed unless the bill imposing it originates in a committee of the whole House. On the 14th of March, when the second reading came on, Charles Wynn drew attention to the rule. Wynn was a high authority on procedure; and his opinion on this occasion was supported by both Peel and O'Connell. The ministers, with these authorities arrayed against them, did not venture on adhering to their own view. The second reading was postponed, and a select committee appointed to consider the question of procedure. Inattention to forms had effectually checked the progress of the measure. The House, instead of reading the Church Bill a second time on the 14th of March, was only able to consider whether the bill should be introduced at all on the 1st of April.

Three resolutions were proposed in committee of the whole House on that day. The first affirmed the expediency of appointing an ecclesiastical commission in Ireland; the second provided for the imposition of a tax on all Irish benefices worth more than £200 a year; the third contemplated the abolition of Church rates. The resolutions led to a long debate. The ministry, on the remonstrance of the Tories,

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xvi. p. 487. Greville very properly says that Althorp "did very wrong" (vol. ii. p. 364).

undertook that the proposed tax should not apply to the incomes of existing incumbents; and on this understanding the resolutions were passed.[1] But the delay which had already taken place afforded a bad augury for the future of the bill. The second reading, which Althorp had refused to postpone for a couple of nights, did not take place till the 6th of May.[2] On the 13th the king sent the usual message to the House, placing his interests in the Church at the disposal of Parliament;[3] and the House resolved itself into committee. The real struggle only commenced at this stage. The Repealers saw that the time had come to extend the scope and principle of the bill. The Tories saw that the moment had arrived for making one last struggle for the property of the Church. One Liberal proposed to apply the temporalities of the Church to purposes of general utility; another desired to reduce the number of Irish bishoprics, not by ten, but by twenty-two; a third wished to remove future Irish Bishops from the House of Lords. None of these proposals were accepted by the Government; and the only important concession which it decided on making was reserved for the Tories. From a Radical point of view the bill had only two merits: it suppressed Church rates, and it enabled Parliament to apply the revenues of suppressed bishoprics to whatever purposes it thought proper. The second of these provisions was contained in the 147th clause of the bill; and, on the 21st of June, Stanley moved the omission of this clause. The omission was avowedly made for the purpose of conciliating the Lords; it had the immediate effect of infuriating the Repealers. The chief virtue of the bill was in their judgment gone;[4] and O'Connell at once repudiated it on behalf of Ireland. He was, however, unable to defeat the steady majority by which the ministry was supported, and

The appropriation clause dropped.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xvi. pp. 1354, 1410; and vol. xvii. pp. 36, 49.

[2] It was carried by 317 votes to 78. Ibid., vol. xviii. p. 1010.

[3] Ibid., p. 1113.

[4] "The life, heart, and soul, all that gave the measure its vitality and spirit, is abandoned." (Sheil, *Hansard*, vol. xix. p. 268.) See also *Spencer*, p. 471.

the bill, with Stanley's amendment, passed through all its stages in the House of Commons.[1]

The attitude of the Lords.

The ministers had reason to be satisfied with their success. But they were nervously apprehensive of the fate which the bill might experience in the Lords. The old-fashioned views of Government, which hardly found an exponent in the Commons, were still embraced by a majority among the Peers. Old Eldon was actively endeavouring to induce the waverers to oppose the "sad bad bill."[2] The Duke of Cumberland was displaying so much zeal against his brother's Government that he was thought to be competing with Wellington for the lead of the Opposition.[3] Brougham, reverting to the proposition of the previous year, desired the immediate creation of five or six peers, and a pledge from the king for an indefinite number of creations. The course which he recommended was impracticable for two reasons. In the first place, it was almost certain that the king could not be persuaded to adopt it. In the next place, the Cabinet would not consent to recommend it.[4] Nothing, therefore, was left to the ministry but to trust to "the good sense of the Peers." Some advanced Liberals considered that the good sense of the Peers would depend on the amount of extraneous pressure which was brought to bear upon them, and that a firm attitude in the Commons would promote moderation in the Lords. With this object Sir John Wrottesley, who represented Staffordshire in Parliament, moved that the House should be called over on the 18th of July. The motion was not successful. Stanley and Althorp joined with Peel in deprecating its adoption. Yet, notwithstanding the junction of the leader of the Opposition with the leader of the ministry, Wrottesley was only beaten by 160 votes to 125. Even Duncannon, who held high office in the Government, and Charles Grey, a younger son of the Prime Minister, supported the call. There could

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xix. p. 301.
[2] His own expression. *Eldon*, vol. iii. p. 207.
[3] *Brougham*, vol. iii. p. 274.
[4] Ibid., p. 295.

be very little doubt about the significance of a demonstration thus made, thus met, and thus supported.[1]

Opposition peers, big with their own importance, were angry at the presumption of a county member who had endeavoured to influence their votes. They persuaded themselves that Wrottesley's motion had added one more reason to the many arguments for immediately rejecting the Church Bill.[2] Fortunately, however, the peers were powerless without their leader, and their leader had the good sense to remember the consequences which might ensue from an indiscreet vote. Instead of voting against "the sad bad bill," Wellington left the House, and suffered the Cumberlands, the Newcastles, the Winchilseas, and the Eldons to continue the hopeless struggle for their old principles alone. In these circumstances the second reading was carried, after three nights' debate, by a majority of 157 votes to 98,[3] and the bill was suffered to go into committee.

The bill in the Lords.

The bill, however, had not escaped all its dangers. One of its clauses provided that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners might suspend any appointment to a benefice in which no duty had been done for the three years preceding the introduction of the bill. Zealous Churchmen fancied that this clause struck a new blow at the useless Establishment which they were determined on preserving. They insisted that the suspension should not take place without the consent of the diocesan, and that the revenues of the suspended benefice should be allowed to accumulate for the purpose of building church or glebehouse within the parish. The ministry could not, of course, assent to an amendment which pointed to the possible erection of Protestant churches in parishes where there were no Protestants. Reason, however, was powerless

[1] For the motion see *Hansard*, vol. xix. p. 650; for the division, ibid., p. 662.

[2] *Greville*, vol. iii. p. 8. Greville says that Wrottesley's action was due to a speech of Wellington's, declaring the bill to be a violation of the Coronation Oath. Ibid., p. 9. The speech referred to is in *Hansard*, vol. xix. p. 551.

[3] *Hansard*, vol. xix. p. 1016. *Eldon*, vol. iii. p. 207.

against the Tory lords, who were bent on retaining the Irish Church in its entirety. Lyndhurst hurried up from Norwich to vote for the amendment;[1] Wellington was persuaded to support it; and the Tories, thus aided, succeeded in defeating the ministry by 84 votes to 82.[2]

The ministry defeated.

For the moment the existence of the ministry was imperilled by this decision. Grey moved that the House should resume, in order that he might have the opportunity of consulting his Cabinet. Fortunately, the Cabinet considered that the amendment was not of essential importance. All that it had done was to reserve the funds of particular benefices for a particular use; and this amendment, foolish and unreasonable as it was, did not materially affect the principle of the measure. The ministry accordingly decided to go on with the bill; the Lords abstained from offering any further embarrassing opposition to it; and on the 30th of July the third reading was carried by a majority of 135 votes to 81.[3]

The bill passed.

The Government had thus succeeded in carrying the Irish measures on which it had staked its existence. The kicks had been alternated with kindness. Coercion had been supplemented by Church reform. Stanley was universally recognised as the author of both measures. The success of one of them was solely due to his eloquence and his will. But the success which he had achieved made it more than ever undesirable that he should continue in the Irish office. His power in Westminster, his unpopularity in Ireland, equally disqualified him for it. The arguments which Brougham had advanced for his removal in December looked much more unanswerable in March; and fortunately facilities existed for effecting a change in the ministry. Durham had never worked comfortably either with his father-in-law, the Prime Minister, or with the rest of the Cabinet. He disliked the policy of the Government. He had neither the temper

[1] *Greville*, vol. iii. p. 16. [2] *Hansard*, vol. xix. p. 1232.
[3] Ibid., vol. xx. p. 126.

nor the tact which would have enabled him to conceal his dislike. His health gave way[1] under the irritation which every fresh compromise occasioned, and he became nervously anxious to retire from the ministry.[2] He resigned in the middle of March, and was rewarded for his services by the earldom which had long been an object of ambition to him. His retirement enabled the ministry to appoint Goderich to the Privy Seal, and thus open the Colonial Office to Stanley.[3]

Reconstruction of the ministry.

The changes which were thus made in the composition of the ministry were all accomplished in the last week of March. The time of Parliament had previously been almost exclusively devoted to the consideration of the Coercion Bill; the time of Parliament was subsequently largely occupied with the debates on the Church Bill. Stanley had been the champion of coercion: he was recognised as the originator of the Church

[1] See Lord Grey's letter to Brougham, in *Brougham*, vol. iii. p. 262.

[2] The ostensible cause of Durham's resignation was that given in the text. The immediate cause was the appointment by Palmerston of Stratford Canning as Minister at St. Petersburg. The Emperor of Russia objected to the appointment; and Durham, who passed a portion of the autumn of 1832 in Russia, whither he had gone on a special mission, undertook that it should be cancelled. Palmerston declined to cancel it. Grey supported Palmerston; and Durham resigned or seceded from the ministry. Cf. *Greville*, vol. ii. pp. 352, 357. Buckingham's *Courts and Cabinets of William IV. and Victoria*, vol. ii. p. 125. Oddly enough, the quarrel, after producing a rupture in the ministry, did not lead to Stratford Canning's appointment. The Emperor of Russia persisted in his objections, and an understanding was arrived at that Stratford Canning should not proceed to his embassy. *Greville*, vol. iii. p. 39. The embassy remained vacant till 1835. On the formation of Lord Melbourne's ministry in that year it was desirable to provide for Durham. It was impossible to gratify him with the Foreign Office, the object of his immediate ambition. Instead of this arrangement it was suggested that he might go to St. Petersburg. Recollecting the difficulties raised by Nicholas in 1833, Palmerston sounded Nicholas, and received his assent to the arrangement, which he then submitted to the king. A new difficulty, however, thereupon arose. Nicholas in 1833 had objected to Canning; William IV. in 1835 objected to Durham. He was "furious" at the notion of the Emperor's having been consulted before his own assent had been either given or asked. *Melbourne*, vol. ii. p. 116. So curiously do the ambition of second-rate statesmen and the prejudices of monarchs influence the government of the world.

[3] Goderich was reconciled to his supercession by being made Earl of Ripon, and by a promise of the Garter. *Brougham*, vol. iii. p. 379; and cf. *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 366.

Bill. Most men would have required rest after exertions of such a nature: Stanley, however, had no chance of obtaining rest in the Colonial Office. The Colonial Minister of 1833 was required to devise a measure of first-rate importance; and Stanley found himself, immediately after his promotion, compelled to deal with a subject of almost unexampled difficulty.

Stanley takes the Colonial Office.

Britain had succeeded in securing a magnificent colonial empire. But the prosperity of her wealthiest colonies depended on a barbarous system. In the West Indies, in the Mauritius, and at the Cape large numbers of unfortunate persons were kept in enforced servitude, and doomed, like beasts of burden, to pass their weary life labouring, under the lash of their master's driver, for the increase of their master's substance. Men no worse than their contemporaries grew wealthy on the horrible traffic in slaves from Africa. Statesmen stipulated that their own fellow-countrymen should be assured a monopoly of the trade; and religious societies, regarding the negro as a mere animal, refused to afford him the advantage of Christian instruction.[1] For more than a century no one presumed even to question the propriety of slavery. The first steps taken to alleviate some of the horrors inseparable from it have already been related in a previous chapter of this history.[2] Granville Sharp, Wilberforce, and their fellow-workmen succeeded after years of agitation in persuading Parliament to abolish the British slave trade. They subsequently induced other nations to imitate the example set by the British Legislature.

Slavery.

But the abolition of the slave trade obviously could not be regarded as a satisfactory solution of the whole question. The horrors of slavery exceeded the horrors of the slave trade; and no humane man could rest contented while hundreds of thousands of his fellow-men were enduring a cruel bondage. Wilberforce himself was anxious to complete the work which was indelibly associated with his name. It was a far more formidable thing, however, to abolish slavery than to abolish

[1] See Mr. Lecky's *History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. pp. 12–17.

[2] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 102.

the slave trade. It was a far more difficult thing to convert three-quarters of a million of slaves into free labourers than to cut off the supply of future slaves. The new object involved a forcible interference with the rights of property; it might possibly prove disastrous to the wealthiest colonies of the British empire. It was sure, therefore, to be opposed by large and influential sections of the community. Britons, in every rank of life, still believed that they were at liberty to do what they chose with anything that happened to be their own. It was this plea which was urged by the Duke of Newcastle when he served notices to quit on the electors of Newark who had voted against his nominee.[1] It was this plea which the American embodied in the expression that every man had "a right to wallop his own nigger." The preceding chapter has, however, been written to very little purpose if the reader has not perceived the constantly diminishing weight of this plea. Men who happened to be slaves could still be regarded as mere animals; but even as animals they were entitled to the protection which Martin had persuaded the Legislature to afford to the ox and the ass. When a costermonger was no longer permitted to ill-treat his donkey a slave-driver could hardly urge his proprietary right to ill-treat his slave.

There was another circumstance of a different character which also assisted the benevolent. During the war the trade of the West Indies had formed an important branch of British commerce. More than one-seventh of the produce which was exported from the United Kingdom was taken by the West Indian colonists. The exceptional circumstances, however, which had imparted a temporary importance to this trade disappeared with the Peace. In 1814 the trade with the West Indies had formed nearly one-sixth part of the commerce of Britain.[2] In 1833 the West Indian Islands only purchased one-fifteenth part of exported British produce.

The decrease in the West Indian trade after the Peace.

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. p. 123, and note.

[2] The declared value of British exports decreased from £43,447,373 in 1814 to £39,305,515 in 1833. The declared value of British exports to the West Indian Islands decreased from £7,019,938 in 1814 to £2,597,591 in 1833. M'Culloch, ad verb. "Imports and exports, and colonies and colony trade."

Thus two causes, after the conclusion of the Peace, modified the position of the great slave question. The kindlier instincts of the rising generation revolted against the notion of exacting enforced labour from human beings. The diminishing importance of the West Indian trade reduced the influence of the planters. The time, therefore, was obviously ripe for completing the work which Granville Sharp and Wilberforce had commenced. The services of the man who had previously been the foremost worker in the cause were, however, no longer available. The weight of years and the feebleness of his health had diminished Wilberforce's capacity for work; and it was, therefore, necessary to transfer the case of the slaves to younger and stronger shoulders. It was natural that Wilberforce should look for his successor among the members of the sect which was identified with his own religious views. All the conspicuous abolitionists, Granville Sharp, Zachary Macaulay, Clarkson, and himself, had been numbered among the band of Low Churchmen whom careless talkers were accustomed to deride as saints, and whom Churchmen occasionally set down as Dissenters. One of the most earnest of them, Fowell Buxton, had entered Parliament in 1818. Three years afterwards he undertook at Wilberforce's invitation the task of pleading the cause of the slaves.

Thomas Fowell Buxton.

Thomas Fowell Buxton was the son of a Suffolk squire. His mother, a Quakeress, and a woman of talent and energy, exerted a marked influence on the character of all her children. An acquaintance, formed at an early period of his life, with the Gurneys of Earlham increased the impression which his mother's precepts had made on Buxton. Mr. Gurney was a Quaker. His third daughter—well known afterwards as Mrs. Fry—was already preparing for the great work of her useful life. His fifth daughter, Hannah Gurney, gained the affections of young Buxton, was engaged to him before he was out of his teens, and was married to him when he had only just completed his twenty-first year.

At the time of his marriage Buxton had just graduated at

Dublin, and the distinction which he had gained in his academical career had procured him an offer to stand for the University. He hesitated, however, to incur the expense of a parliamentary contest, and, refusing the tempting offer, accepted a situation in Truman's brewery.[1] Constantly engaged in the East-end of London, he set himself to alleviate the terrible distress which was hardly ever absent from Spitalfields. He seconded the efforts which his sister-in-law, Mrs. Fry, was making; and, imitating her example, devoted almost the whole of his leisure to works of charity. A life of this kind was certain to bring him sooner or later into connection with the slavery question. He became a member of the African Institution, a society which proposed to watch over the law which abolished the slave trade. The society, however, had slumbered over its victory. It was only awakened, in January 1821, to its duties by Buxton's "vehement reprobation."[2] Shamed into action by his zeal, the abolitionists renewed their efforts; and Wilberforce, four months afterwards, confided the conduct of the crusade to Buxton.

Undertakes the management of the slavery question.

Immediate action was not, however, possible. The slave-owners were powerfully represented in Parliament, and their arguments were received with respect by the ruling classes. The emancipation of the slaves, it was argued, would be followed by an insurrection of the negroes; and the colonies, freed from the evil of slavery, would be exposed to the greater evils of servile war. Slavery, indeed, from a slave-owner's point of view had no evils. The slaves were treated with a kindness and consideration which few free labourers enjoyed. The stories of ill-treatment occasionally repeated in England were idle tales unworthy of credence. It was true that the whip was carried into the field, but the driver only bore it as a badge of authority, and not for use. Slaves might possibly be found who had been branded with red-hot irons.

[1] His uncle, Mr. Sampson Hanbury, procured him the situation.

[2] Buxton's own expression. See his Life, p. 105, from which the preceding details have been collected.

But these were old men, introduced into the colony before the slave trade was abolished, and who had been branded before their departure from Africa.

Facts were necessary to oppose the assertions of the slave-owners, and facts could only be gradually accumulated. Buxton, however, had one diligent assistant in the matter. Zachary Macaulay had, throughout his life, been a steady advocate of negro emancipation. He had resigned the management of a West Indian estate from his disgust at slavery; he had been the leading spirit in an unfortunate attempt to found a colony of free negroes at Sierra Leone; and he had returned to England early in the century, and was ready to collect the weapons for Buxton's use against the slave-owners. Two years' labour provided Buxton with an array of facts which it is, even now, hardly possible to read without being affected by them. The heartless cruelty of human nature never earned a sadder commentary. It is necessary to cite only a few instances of brutality which could be almost indefinitely multiplied. A negress named America[1] had a little child employed in the house of one Overeen, the manager of a slave estate. The child, either through accident or carelessness, let some cream fall into the sea. She was punished for her fault; and her mother came to Mrs. Overeen's house to scold the child for her carelessness. Mrs. Overeen fancied that America had no right to interfere, and complained to Overeen. Poor America was stripped by Overeen's order, and in his presence 170 lashes were inflicted on her. The poor creature who was doomed to this fearful punishment was in a condition at the time which ought to have made any man merciful. But the slave-driver, who had no pity for the woman, could, perhaps, hardly be expected to show mercy to the unborn babe. A brute in Honduras, Michael Carty, made Overeen's conduct appear almost humane by contrast. In a fit of temper he bound a poor young negress hand and foot, passed a stick above her elbows and under her knees, and, fastening a chain

Zachary Macaulay collects the materials for Buxton's use.

[1] For America's case see *Hansard*, New Series, vol. x. p. 1120.

to her neck, flogged her at intervals throughout a day, leaving her between the floggings with her wounds festering under a tropical sun.[1] Another wretch, one Huggins, flogged three negroes for some trumpery fault, employing their own father to administer the flogging. The sisters of the unfortunate men begged for mercy, and cried on being refused it. Huggins gave them twenty lashes each for crying.[2] Crying was an offence rarely forgiven in a slave. Henry Williams was flogged for attending an Independent meeting-house. His sister sighed, and she received thirty-nine lashes for sighing. It may, however, be thought that these were solitary acts of cruelty. Slave-owners were loudly declaring that the whip was only an emblem of office, and that negroes were never branded in the West Indies. A fearful answer was given to these allegations. A single page of the *Jamaica Gazette* contained descriptive advertisements of fifty-six runaways. Nearly all had marks of floggings or severe floggings upon them. Nearly every one of them had been branded. Creoles, who must have been born in the colony, had been branded frequently in more places than one. Creole women, it is shocking to relate, could be identified by the brands on their breasts. Some of them had been branded on both breasts.[3]

Thus prepared, Buxton, in May 1823, brought the question of slavery before the House of Commons. He asked the House to resolve that the state of slavery is "repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution and of the Christian religion, and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British colonies, with as much expedition as may be found consistent with due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned."[4] He asked the

Buxton's first motion for the abolition of slavery.

[1] For Quasheba's case see *Hansard*, vol. ix. p. 354.

[2] Ibid., vol. x. p. 1117.

[3] Ibid., vol. ix. p. 331. Cf. vol. x. p. 1127. It is right to add that Ellis, afterwards Lord Seaford, the great champion of the West India interest, quoted a case in which a master had been punished for branding a slave on the breast. Ibid., p. 1135.

[4] A slave was the property of his master. A slave who ran away was, technically, supposed to rob his master. In 1815 a poor negro boy ran away

House to disregard the warnings of interested planters. The planters had always declared that rebellion would be the inevitable result of any movement for improving the condition of the slaves. If Buxton had been as ready as he was zealous he might have answered them by citing the toast of the undoubted Tory, Johnson: "Here's to the next insurrection of the negroes in the West Indies."[1] The striking wish of the great lexicographer did not, probably, occur to Buxton. He contented himself by showing that the planters' arguments pointed not merely to the continuance of slavery, but to the perpetuation of the horrors which made slavery in a British colony one of the worst forms of servitude. Such a result, it was daily becoming evident, would not be tolerated by the rising generation of Englishmen, who were loading the tables of the House with petitions for abolition. Abolition, in some shape or other, at some time or other, could not be resisted by the Legislature. Buxton recommended that it should be gradually effected by declaring all children born after a certain date to be free.

The recommendation which Buxton thus made had two great advantages: it was moderate, and it was reasonable. It was made, moreover, at a time eminently favourable for its consideration. Humanity and liberality were becoming fashionable; and ministers could not afford to disregard the movement of which Buxton had become the exponent. Canning's position was not, however, an easy one. The West India interest was still powerful in the House. Sir Pitt Crawley was not the only borough-owner who for fifteen hundred a year gave up the second seat in the family borough to "Mr. Quadroon, with *carte blanche* on the slave question."[2] Canning did not venture in these circumstances to give an unconditional support to Buxton. He proposed three resolutions, which he rightly thought would be less offensive to the slave-owners than Buxton's motion. The first affirmed the

to his mother. The lad was hanged for endeavouring to rob his owner; his mother was imprisoned for life for receiving stolen goods—in other words, for sheltering her own son. *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. xviii. p. 367.

[1] Boswell's *Johnson*, vol. iii. p. 217. [2] *Vanity Fair*, chap. ix.

expediency of adopting effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the slaves. The second contemplated, in consequence, a progressive improvement in the character of the slaves, "such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects." The third expressed the anxiety of the House "for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the rights of private property."[1] Canning's amendment.

Buxton's remedy contemplated the gradual abolition of slavery; Canning's remedy an alleviation of the hardships which surrounded the slave. Sturdy abolitionists naturally preferred Buxton's plan to that of the Government. Canning's plan, however, was attainable; Buxton's was practically unattainable; and the abolitionists were too wise to reject an end which they could immediately secure, for the sake of an object which there was no immediate means of obtaining. Canning's resolutions, thus supported, were unanimously adopted. The ministry, much to its credit, lost no time in acting on them. The resolutions were at once forwarded by Bathurst, the Colonial Minister, to every one of the West Indian Governments. Bathurst urged the colonists to take a practical step towards complying with the wishes of the Legislature by abolishing the flogging of females and the use of the whip in the field.[2]

The news that the British Legislature had presumed to interfere in the internal affairs of the colony was received with a burst of indignation in the House of Assembly in Jamaica. One of the planters moved an address for the removal of

[1] For Buxton's speech see *Hansard*, New Series, vol. ix. p. 257; for Canning's, ibid., p. 275. The result of the debates is in ibid., p. 360. Cf. Buxton's Life, p. 129 *seq.*

[2] The letter will be found in *Ann. Reg.*, 1823, Hist., p. 130, note. Subsequent and more elaborate instructions were despatched from the Colonial Office afterwards, recommending much more detailed reforms. See for these *Buxton*, p. 134; and *Hansard*, vol. x. p. 1047.

Bathurst from the ministry; others of them deliberately desired to separate themselves from the British Crown; the whole Assembly unanimously protested against "a decree" "whereby the inhabitants of this once valuable colony (hitherto esteemed the brightest jewel in the British Crown) are destined to be offered a propitiatory sacrifice at the altar of fanaticism;" and told the Government that "the late proceedings in the British Parliament" had made "the present moment peculiarly unfavourable" for any measures designed to ameliorate the condition of the slaves.

Indignation of the planters.

The insulting language of the Jamaica planters might have induced the British Legislature to assert its authority. The Legislature, however, was under the control of a statesman who would not allow himself to be moved by the arrogant remonstrances of irritated colonists. "Parliament," said Canning, "had obviously three courses before it. It might crush the planters by the application of direct force; it might harass them by fiscal charges; or it might pursue the slow, silent course of temperate but authoritative admonition. Others might prefer compulsion; for his own part he was in favour of leaving the planter to meditate on the consequences of his own folly. I would leave him," said Canning, "to found his insurrection, if insurrection he will have, on an abstract admiration of the cart-whip, and on a resolute claim of his free-born right to use that instrument at his pleasure."[1]

The clamour of the Jamaica planters had done its work. Abolitionists with less enthusiasm than Buxton and Wilberforce seceded from a movement which was apparently likely to produce civil war in an important colony; and the Jamaica planter was permitted to wield his cart-whip at his pleasure. Fortunately, moreover, for the Jamaica planter, the attention of the abolitionists was temporarily diverted from his arrogant language. The despatch which had provoked such excitement in Jamaica was attended with graver consequences in Barbadoes and Demerara. In Barbadoes a missionary named Shrewsbury

[1] *Hansard*, New Series, vol. x. pp. 1105, 1106.

was attacked, his meeting-house destroyed, and he himself driven from the island. The angry colonists imagined that the unfortunate clergyman had sent home reports reflecting on their conduct, and warned all missionaries to leave their shores. The Governor of the island, indignant at the outrage, offered £100 reward for the conviction of the rioters. The planters had the assurance to issue a counter-proclamation that "the good people of Barbadoes would take care fitly to punish such person or persons as should make any discovery."[1]

The "good people of Barbadoes" had lost their temper. On the adjacent coasts of South America the conduct of the inhabitants of Demerara made the proceedings of Barbadoes seem moderate. Demerara is one of the Crown colonies under the direct government of the Colonial Office. In 1823 the government of the colony was held by General Murray. On the 7th of July Murray received the circular despatch which had been sent to every colony from the Colonial Office. The planters, to whom its contents were communicated, displayed a "feverish anxiety" at the news. Murray shared their apprehensions, and decided on withholding the despatch from the negroes. Some rumours of it, however, reached the ears of the slaves. They fancied that the great King of England had set them free, and that the planters had suppressed the edict. Irritated at the suppression of the boon which they believed had been conferred on them, the slaves in a portion of the colony refused to work. In a planter's eyesight the passive refusal of a slave to work was as dangerous as active rebellion. Troops were at once employed to crush the "insurrection." The wretched slaves were easily cut down. Two days' vigorous action enabled the soldiers, without loss to themselves, to suppress the disturbances. Rigorous measures were subsequently taken to restore authority. The insurgents, tried by courts-martial, were executed by dozens. Others of them, not more guilty, but more unfortunate, were sentenced to a more horrible punishment.

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1823, Hist., p. 134.

Five of them were torn to pieces with a thousand lashes each.[1]

The insurrection broke out on Monday, the 18th of August. Complete tranquillity was restored on Wednesday, the 20th. The headquarters of the revolt had been established on a plantation—known as Le Resouvenir—whose owner held extreme notions about the propriety of flogging negroes. He thought it an atrocious act of tyranny for the British Parliament or the Colonial Office to prohibit him from flogging his female slaves; and he declared if he were not allowed to do so he would put them into solitary confinement, without food. It may easily be imagined, therefore, that a slave's lot on the Le Resouvenir estate was not a pleasant one. On the same estate there had been living since 1816 the Rev. John Smith, a Nonconformist missionary. He had been sent to Demerara by the London Missionary Society. He had been carefully instructed to avoid rendering the slaves dissatisfied with their condition.[2] Practising the many virtues which he preached, he had succeeded in obtaining extraordinary influence among them. "Wearied and heavy-laden," they came to him as the minister of that Lord who had promised the weary and heavy-laden who came to Him rest.

The case of missionary Smith.

Good men are not always judicious: good judgment is so rare a quality that it would be hopeless to expect it in every missionary. Smith, probably, occasionally laid stress on some chapter in the Bible which it would have been better to have avoided in preaching to a congregation of slaves. The negroes on the Le Resouvenir estate must have derived their knowledge of Hebrew history from Smith; and their usual explanation of the Exodus was that God commanded Moses to take the children of Israel out of Egypt because He did not wish that they should be slaves.[3] Such a precedent, so explained, must have been a little embarrassing

[1] See *Hansard*, vol. xi. pp. 964, 968, 995. *Buxton*, p. 138. *Ann. Reg.*, 1823, Hist., p. 134.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. xi. p. 402.

[3] Ibid., p. 1009.

to a planter inspired with "an abstract admiration of the cart-whip." On the Sunday which preceded the revolt, moreover, Smith chose an unfortunate text for his sermon: "And when He was come near, He beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes."[1] Probably even in negro congregations an apposite text has more effect than an eloquent sermon. Gibbon relates that a sermon in St. Sophia on the seasonable text, "This is the day of the Lord," stimulated the revolution which drove the second Justinian from the throne.[2] Smith's text had a similar tendency. However forcibly he might dilate on the position of the Jews in A.D. 33 and their ignorance of the Redeemer, some of his congregation must have reflected on the message of peace which, rumour whispered, the King of England had sent out to Demerara in A.D. 1823, and which General Murray had hidden from the eyes of the unfortunate negroes.

On the day on which Smith preached this sermon he had some conversation with a slave named Quamina, one of the leading negroes on the estate. On the following day the commotion occurred which the authorities regarded, and dealt with, as a revolt. On the Tuesday and Wednesday, when the rebellion was at its height, Quamina again called on Smith. Smith's language seems to have been worthy of a Christian missionary. He remonstrated with Quamina for threatening to use force.[3] His influence and precepts induced the slaves to declare that they would take no life.[4] He warned the manager of an adjacent estate of the discontent and of the commotions which were preparing.[5]

Men free from the passions which were distracting the colony were ready enough to admit the good results which had ensued from Smith's teaching. Smith had taught the negroes the

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xi. p. 989.

[2] *Decline and Fall*, chap. xlviii. Gibbon does not seem to have noticed that the text, which he cites, does not occur in the English Bible.

[3] *Hansard*, vol. x. p. 1072.

[4] Ibid., vol. xi. p. 995. Cf. p. 1220.

[5] Ibid., p. 1055.

wickedness of bloodshedding, and the slaves had carefully refrained from shedding blood.[1] The planters, however, had little consideration for the feelings of the minister. In their eyes his teaching had provoked the rebellion. His sermon on the preceding Sunday; his constant intercourse with the slaves; his conversations with Quamina were all cited as proofs of his immediate connection with it. On the 19th of August, while the revolt was at its height, Governor Murray proclaimed martial law.[2] Two days afterwards, when the disturbance was virtually quelled, Smith was dragged from his home and thrust into the miserable prison of the colony. Imprisonment, in any circumstances, on such a charge would have been a cruel punishment; confinement in a West Indian prison was almost equivalent to death. The upper chamber of the building in which Smith was placed was exposed to the scorching fury of a tropical sun. The lower chamber had a damp mud floor. In this prison Smith and his unfortunate wife, who bravely shared her husband's confinement, were doomed to spend nearly two months.

He is arrested,

It was, however, obviously impossible to leave Smith in his wretched prison. Quiet, which had only been interrupted for three days, had been restored for six weeks; and no justification remained for the continued imprisonment of a Christian minister unconvicted of any offence. On the 13th of October Smith was brought to trial. His persecutors, however, did not permit him to enjoy the advantage of pleading his cause before an ordinary tribunal. The necessity for martial law had long since ceased, but martial law was still in force. It was determined that Smith should be tried before a court established under martial law. The Vendue Master of the Colony—who had a commission on the sale of slaves—was made President of the Court.[3] The President of the Civil Court of Demerara had a seat upon it. The Colonial Fiscal was employed to conduct the prosecution. Weakened by his long confinement,

[1] See the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Austin, an Anglican clergyman. *Hansard*, vol. xi. pp. 995, 1036.

[2] Ibid., p. 968.

[3] Ibid., p. 974.

ignorant of the charges against him, Smith had to conduct his case as best he could before this tribunal. A court-martial summoned at Demerara, and presided over by the Vendue Master of the Colony, was not likely to prove an impartial tribunal. The Court which was trying Smith soon afforded proofs of its partiality. Demerara had been ceded to this country by the Dutch. The Dutch had recognised the admissibility of slave evidence in certain cases; and the British planters had been compelled to submit to the established custom. The custom proved convenient enough when Smith was on his trial. Two or three wretched slaves were brought forward, not to testify to facts, but to repeat conversations which they had heard. The President of the Civil Court of Demerara sat by and made no objection. Ignorant of the laws of evidence, Smith himself made no objection. He naturally thought that he would be allowed to meet hearsay evidence with hearsay evidence. He was soon undeceived. The Court, which had been gravely noting the hearsay evidence which the prosecution had produced, was shocked at the notion that Smith should offer anything so irregular for its consideration. Its members decided that they could not receive any more hearsay evidence.[1]

and tried by court-martial.

The Court was solemnly trying Smith on the gossip which they were able to extract from frightened negroes. The principal witness whom they succeeded in obtaining in this way subsequently confessed that his evidence was false.[2] But the planters had something more than the hearsay evidence of perjured slaves to rely upon. They had been carefully studying Smith's papers and private journals. The private journal of a missionary on the Le Resouvenir estate was not likely to be a satisfactory document for a planter's perusal. Smith's journal showed that he realised the inevitable consequences of cruelty and oppression, and that he anticipated the convulsion which ultimately occurred. The planters were not ashamed to use the secret confessions of this journal as

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xi. pp. 406, 971, 983.
[2] Ibid., p. 984.

evidence against the prisoner. "Nothing like Smith's journal had been used in evidence since Jeffrey's trial of Sidney."[1]

The forms of justice had been strained to ensure Smith's conviction. Smith was accused of promoting discontent and dissatisfaction among the slaves, thereby intending to excite revolt. He was charged with consulting Quamina before the revolt; of communicating with him during its progress; and with neglecting to arrest him. He was found guilty on most of these charges, and sentenced to death.[2] The Court had the irony to accompany their finding with a recommendation to mercy. Mercy was, indeed, in store for the persecuted missionary, but it was very different from the mercy which the court-martial had recommended. Exhausted by his long labours in an unhealthy climate, broken with the hardships of his protracted confinement, Smith had no strength to bear the anxieties of his trial or the mortification of his sentence. His gentle spirit sank under his numerous afflictions and he died. His persecutors were not even appeased by their victim's death. They had the cruelty to forbid his widow to follow his funeral; they tore up the railings which were placed around his humble grave.[3]

His conviction.

The trial of an obscure missionary in a distant colony may seem to some people an insignificant event in the history of the world. Smith's trial constituted an important episode in British history. The news of the proceedings threw a fresh light on the meaning of slavery. The love of justice, which is inherent in the English, was outraged by the irregular conviction of a good man for an unintelligible offence. Brougham exerted all his eloquence, Mackintosh and Lushington all their learning, to aggravate the case against the court-martial. The ministers hardly ventured to defend the proceedings of the Colonial authorities. They lost no time in reversing the proceedings of the Court. They met Brougham's attack by only moving the previous question. Even this moderation did not give them a signal victory. Brougham was only defeated by 193 votes to 146.[4]

The sentence reversed by the British Ministry.

[1] Sir J. Mackintosh. *Hansard*, vol. xi. p. 1043.
[2] Ibid., p. 1053.
[3] Ibid., p. 1066.
[4] Ibid., p. 1313.

The minority was too formidable to be lightly disregarded. The Colonial Office had already determined to issue regulations for the treatment of slaves in the colony of Trinidad; and had subsequently applied these rules to Demerara, Berbice, and St. Lucia. In these colonies the flogging of females was abolished; the whip was taken from the driver's hand in the field; no punishment was to be inflicted until at least twenty-four hours after the offence; no slave was to receive more than twenty-five lashes in one day; every punishment was to be entered in a record book; and a protector of slaves, to whom the slaves were to have a right of access, was to be appointed. Moral regulations of almost higher importance were made at the same time. Married slaves were not to be separated from their children; slaves were to be permitted to acquire and bequeath property; they were to be allowed to purchase their freedom; their evidence was to be admissible in courts of justice. Provision was to be made for their religious instruction; and—such still was the narrow bigotry of the age—two bishops were to be sent to the West Indies to promote the interests of the Church of England.[1]

Slavery regulated in the Crown colonies.

Bathurst's regulations marked a new advance in the great movement which Buxton was promoting. In four small colonies the British Government had insisted on regulations for the more humane treatment of slaves. In 1826 Bathurst again urged the local authorities of Jamaica to legislate while there was yet time; and the Assembly, wise in its generation, decided on using the year of grace to grant the minimum of indulgence to the slaves. It passed an Act to alter and amend the slave laws in the island. The Act had nothing satisfactory about it except its title. It was chiefly remarkable for what it omitted to do. It did not abolish the flogging of female slaves, or the use of the whip

The Jamaica Act of 1826.

1 These regulations will be found explained in *Hansard*, New Series, vol. x. pp. 1052–1058; and without explanation in ibid., p. 1064. For their extension to Demerara, Berbice, and St. Lucia, see ibid., p. 1061; and *Buxton*, p. 151. The colonies, to which the rules applied, were Crown colonies under the direct government of the Colonial Office.

in the field. It placed no limit on the hours of work during harvest-time. It professed to provide for the religious instruction of the slaves; but it forbade their attendance at divine worship between sunset and sunrise, or during the only hours when many of them were free to attend. It professed to afford protectors to whom the slaves might resort; but, instead of independent persons specially nominated for the purpose, it proposed the formation of Councils of Protection in each parish. It professed to allow the marriages of slaves, but it refused to recognise any marriage which was not contracted by a clergyman of the Established Church. It professed to prohibit the separation of families, but it failed to define the meaning of the family. In these and other respects the law was so imperfect that Huskisson, who had succeeded to the Colonial Office, declined to sanction it;[1] and the unfortunate negroes were thus deprived of the moderate instalment of reform which even the House of Assembly of Jamaica had been willing to concede.

In 1828 Murray replaced Huskisson. On the 15th of September the new Secretary of State told the planters that "some amelioration of the laws regarding slavery was a matter of necessary policy."[2] The ministry still clung to the hope that the colonists would have the good sense and discretion to adopt the advice which three successive Colonial ministers had given to them. The colonists, however, refused to recede from their miserable position. Their obstinacy strengthened the hands of the abolitionists. In May 1830 a great meeting was held at the Freemasons' Tavern to promote the cause of freedom. Wilberforce emerged from his retirement to preside over it. Lord Milton seconded the resolution which Buxton proposed for "effecting at the earliest period the entire abolition of

Murray's despatch of 1828.

[1] For Huskisson's despatch, and the answer from the House of Assembly, see *Ann. Reg.*, 1828, Chron., pp. 386–397.

[2] See *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. xi. p. 818. The House of Assembly afterwards, on the 19th of February 1831, made another, and better, though imperfect, law, which was approved by Goderich. See the correspondence, Parliamentary Papers, Session 1831–2, vol. xlvi. p. 54.

slavery throughout the British dominions." The principles which were thus enforced were repeated at a second meeting held in Edinburgh. "We ought to tell the legislators, plainly and strongly," said one of the speakers at this meeting, "that no man has a right to property in men—that there are 800,000 individuals sighing in bondage under the intolerable evils of West Indian slavery, who have as good a right to be free as ourselves have; that they ought to be free, and that they must be made free."[1] Encouraged by these demonstrations, Brougham, towards the close of the session, brought forward the question. He told one story, in support of his arguments, which makes the flesh of the sternest reader creep. Mr. and Mrs. Moss, so his story ran, had a slave, a poor black girl, employed in their house, whom they suspected of theft. They placed her in the stocks from the 22nd of July to the 8th of August 1826. The stocks were so constructed that the wretched girl could neither sit nor lie in an easy position. While she was in them she was flogged six times. Tortured in this way, it was hardly possible for her to sleep. Lest sleep should mitigate her sufferings, her master and mistress rubbed her eyes with red pepper. At last, on the 8th of August, she was taken out of the stocks. Stiff with her confinement, she could with difficulty move, and she was again flogged and sent to work in the fields. A fever was at the time prevalent, and on the third day the unhappy girl complained of being ill with the fever. The driver brought her to her inhuman master and mistress. They desired that she should be taken to the negro house, and, if she was no better in the morning, that she should be brought to them for medicine. The only medicine which she received was another flogging. Five hours afterwards her exhausted nature gave way, and she sank into the sleep of death from which even her barbarous master could not arouse her.

Brougham's motion in 1830.

The Mosses had been a little too cruel even for Jamaica. They were tried for their conduct, and sentenced to five months'

[1] *Buxton*, pp. 247, 248.

imprisonment. But society in the colony was shocked at the notion that a gentleman and lady should be punished in consequence of the death of an unfortunate slave, or, as they phrased it, of an untoward and unfortunate accident. A memorial was presented to the Governor for the immediate release of the Mosses; and the Governor sent the petition home, with a strong recommendation to mercy. The indignation which the punishment of the Mosses excited formed the strongest proof that had yet been produced of the cruel conduct of the Jamaica colonists. Yet Brougham was not successful. His motion was defeated; but his eloquent language increased the determination of the abolitionists and excited the enthusiasm of the country. The men of Yorkshire, sharing the convictions of the nation, selected him as their representative, loudly cheering the promise which he gave them, to tear up the noxious plant of slavery, whose roots he had been already able to loosen.[1]

Brougham's action had raised the abolition question into one of first-rate importance. It was one thing for a private member to pledge himself to secure the freedom of slaves; it was another for the most powerful member of the House of Commons—who was raised immediately afterwards to a prominent position in the Administration—to advocate abolition. The colonists understood that the general election of 1830 and the formation of the Grey Ministry had made emancipation a mere question of time. The planters, however, had two circumstances in their favour. In the first place, a ministry which had the Reform Bill on its hands had not much leisure to devote to other subjects; and, in the next place, Goderich, who succeeded Murray at the Colonial Office, was a more timid friend to the negro than his predecessor.

Buxton in 1831.

Buxton, in 1831, again found it necessary to draw attention to the subject. He was able to add one more argument to the many reasons which he had urged on other occasions for the abolition of slavery. The planters

[1] See *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xxv. pp. 1171, 1187, 1214; and *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, Chron., p. 126.

were themselves terminating slavery by destroying the slaves. In the Free State of Hayti the negroes had doubled their numbers in twenty years. In the British West Indies the slave population had decreased in the same period from 800,000 to 700,000. Slavery was obviously impossible when it was no longer recruited by the slave trade. Old-fashioned Tories might still affect to believe that the emancipation of the slaves would loosen the ties by which all property was held. Tory lords like Wynford, with experience on the seat of justice, might still repeat these arguments in the House of Lords.[1] The gradual decrease in the number of the slaves was depriving them of all their value. The property which retired Chief-Justices were defending was melting away under the lash of the driver and the rays of a West Indian sun.

Ministers, however, were not prepared to give an unconditional assent to Buxton's reasoning. Instead of doing so they preferred to bribe the colonies into compliance with the wishes of Parliament. Althorp met Buxton's proposal by suggesting that the colonies which ameliorated the condition of their slaves should be allowed to import their sugar into Britain at lower rates of duty.[2] The debate at which this singular suggestion was made was adjourned. Before it was resumed Parliament was dissolved. The ministry, however, took steps to give effect to Althorp's suggestion. In August an order was sent out to the colonies for the manumission of the slaves which were the property of the Crown. In December the Colonial Minister announced in a circular despatch to all the colonies the intention of the Government to arrange measures of substantial relief to the West Indian interests; the relief, however, to be dependent on the Colonial Legislatures declaring the Order in Council already in force in the Crown colonies to possess the force of law. The Government,

[1] "God forbid," said Lord Wynford, who had been Chief-Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, "that there should be anything like a forcing of the master to abandon his property in the slave. Once adopt this principle, and there was an end of all property." *Hansard*, vol. xii. p. 630.

[2] Ibid., vol. iii. p. 1423; and vol. xi. p. 820. *Buxton*, p. 261.

Goderich added, could not permit the Colonial Legislatures to make even verbal alterations in the wording of the Order.[1]

Rumours of what the Government was proposing reached the ears of the slaves in the West Indies. The manumission of slaves the property of the Crown was exaggerated into a report that the Crown had ordered the manumission of all slaves. It was thought that the great King of England had ordered that they should be set free on Christmas Day, 1831; and the negroes in Jamaica, deluded by these rumours, and fancying that the king's order had been withheld, met together on the 21st of December and refused to resume work. The "insurrection" broke out in the first instance on a plantation known as the Salt Spring Estate, in the west of the island. It spread rapidly among the negroes of the neighbourhood. These men, meeting together in gangs, burned the plantations and destroyed their masters' property. The usual pitiless measures were taken to restore order. Troops were moved into the disturbed districts; martial law was proclaimed; the rioters were shot down; the more prominent among them who were taken were either flogged or shot; and peace was restored by these measures of severity.[2]

The Jamaica rebellion.

Considerable damage had been caused to the planters during the progress of the insurrection. Their property had been destroyed, and they were, perhaps naturally, angry. The Jamaica Assembly threw the whole blame on the king's Government. "The primary and most powerful cause" of the rebellion—so they resolved—was the "unceasing and unconstitutional interference of his Majesty's ministers with our local Legislature."[3] The action of ministers almost justified this censure. They gave a large sum of money to replace the losses which the

[1] For the manumission of the Crown slaves see *Hansard*, vol. vi. p. 160. For Lord Goderich's despatch, Parliamentary Papers, Session 1831–2, vol. xlvi. p. 193.

[2] For an account of the rebellion see Parliamentary Papers, Session 1831–2, No. 285, vol. xlvii. pp. 272 *seq.* Lord Belmore's despatch upon it is printed in *Ann Reg.*, 1832, Chron., p. 286.

[3] The report of the Jamaica Legislature will be found in Parliamentary Papers, Session 1831–2, No. 561, vol. xlvii. p. 181.

planters had incurred. They assented to a proposal, made by Lord Harewood, for the appointment of a Lords' Committee to inquire into the condition of the West Indian interest; and in the meanwhile they insisted on postponing all legislation respecting slaves.[1]

Dilatory tactics had up to this time been pursued to the utmost possible extent. For nine years the Legislature had been pledged to provide for the ultimate abolition of slavery; yet, for all practical purposes, no material steps had been taken to alleviate the inevitable miseries of a life of bondage. In one respect, indeed, the last state of the slaves' lot was worse than the first. Up to 1815 the prosperity of the colonies had been so great that the planters had been willing to be humane. The rapid decrease of their trade after 1815 made them try to avoid ruin by exacting harder work from the slaves; and the tasks of the unfortunate negroes, like those of the Israelites of old, were continually increased. Nor were the steps which the British Government took to ensure humanity in the Crown colonies attended with much success. The arbitrary use of the whip in the field was often accompanied with many abuses. But the knowledge that it was ever ready to fall on the shoulders of a lagging workman kept the line continually even. When the drivers were forbidden to carry it, lazy work could only be punished by subsequent floggings. The chance of a severe flogging twenty-four hours afterwards proved a less powerful stimulus than the certainty that idleness would be met by an immediate application of the lash. The abolition of the whip in the field was, in consequence, followed by a horrible increase in regular floggings; and these floggings were increased in number and severity every year.[2]

Increased sufferings of the slaves.

[1] For the grant to the Jamaica colonists see *Hansard*, vol. xiii. p. 1173. For the appointment of Lord Harewood's Committee, ibid., vol. xii. p. 631. Brougham, as Chancellor, presented a petition against delay signed by 135,000 persons. Ibid., vol. xiii. p. 6. A committee was also appointed by the House of Commons. Ibid., p. 98.

[2] This was clearly explained by Stanley in *Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 1193. There were 69,000 slaves in Demerara; 200,000 registered stripes were inflicted on them annually. Thirty-nine lashes with the whip were said to equal 300 with the cat. Ibid., vol. xiii. pp. 46, 47.

In 1833 the Legislature, no longer occupied with the work of reforming its own constitution, had leisure to devote to other subjects; and the country expected that emancipation would engage the immediate attention of the ministry. Parliament met; and, to the surprise and annoyance of the abolitionists, no reference to slavery appeared in the Speech from the throne. The king, like all his family, had always opposed the freedom of the slaves; the Colonial Minister was irresolute; many of his subordinates were disposed to adopt the customary course of supporting existing institutions; and the Prime Minister, hampered with other business, had not strength to overcome the irresolution of his Colonial Secretary and the passive resistance of the Colonial Office.[1] The long Speech from the throne was full of promises, but it had no promise for the slaves. The silence of the Speech did not, however, save the ministry. Buxton at once gave notice of a motion on the subject, and asked whether the Government intended to initiate any proposal. Ministers were compelled to reconsider their decision, and to undertake to introduce a safe and satisfactory measure.[2]

The position of the slave question in 1833.

Promises are easily made. It is not always easy to redeem them. Every day that passed made it more difficult for the ministers to carry out the pledge which they had hastily given; and Althorp was compelled to ask Buxton to defer his motion. Buxton declined to give way unless the ministry named a specific day for the debate; and Althorp promised that the Government would explain its views on the 23rd of April.[3] The ministry gained five weeks' delay by this arrangement. If, however, no changes had been made in the Cabinet five weeks would, probably, have been insufficient. But before the five weeks were over Goderich had been promoted to the

[1] These difficulties will be found described in *Spencer*, p. 469. There were, of course, many officers in the Colonial Office—Lord Howick, the Parliamentary, and Stephen, the permanent, Under-Secretary, for example—who were warm advocates of abolition.

[2] These proceedings are not reported in *Hansard*. See, however, *Buxton*, pp. 302, 303.

[3] *Hansard*, vol. xvi. p. 826.

Privy Seal and an earldom; and Stanley had become Colonial Minister. The new Secretary of State was admirably qualified for the task which was thrust upon him. Bold to a fault, intolerant of opposition, decisive in council, eloquent in debate, resolute in difficulty, he was capable of overcoming the scruples of his department and the fears of his more timid colleagues. He obtained an additional three weeks to perfect his information; and, on the 14th of May, he rose to explain the principles on which slavery should cease throughout the British dominions.

Stanley succeeds to the Colonial Office.

Stanley's Abolition Bill.

The speech in which the minister unfolded his proposals stamped his reputation for eloquence and ability. He detailed the history of the question from the great debate of 1823. He showed how studiously the British Government had endeavoured to persuade the colonies to improve the lot of their slaves; how recklessly and rudely the planters had again and again refused to accept the warnings which had been again and again held out to them; he dwelt on the horrible facts which the abolitionists had constantly brought forward; and he deduced from these premises that the time for expostulation was gone for ever, and that the time for action had arrived. These arguments had constantly been repeated by Buxton and his fellow-workers. They derived fresh force when they were set off by the eloquence of Stanley. The abolitionists themselves had never appreciated the strength of their cause till they had the opportunity of hearing their own arguments from the mouth of the Colonial Minister.[1]

It was one thing, however, to prove the propriety of emancipating the slaves: it was another to devise the manner in which

[1] Buxton applied to himself Cowper's lines to Mrs. Courtenay:—

"My numbers that day she had sung,
And gave them a grace so divine,
As only her musical tongue
Could infuse into numbers of mine.
The longer I heard, I esteemed
The work of my fancy the more,
And e'en to myself never seemed
So tuneful a poet before."

—See *Buxton*, p. 323.

their emancipation was to be effected. Hardly any one desired to inflict the irreparable injury on the colonists which the immediate emancipation of 750,000 slaves would occasion. The course which Buxton had recommended in 1823, and which many abolitionists preferred in 1833, was the gradual termination of slavery by declaring all children born after a given date to be free. This scheme did not commend itself to Stanley. He thought its operation too remote, its inconveniences too certain, to justify its adoption. He doubted the propriety of condemning the existing slaves to lifelong slavery. He thought that their lot, miserable already, would become intolerable if their younger brothers or their children were working with them as freemen. Slave labour and free labour could not, in his judgment, co-exist side by side, and the Legislature must choose between the two. Instead of Buxton's system Stanley proposed an intermediate state, in which the negroes should be neither free nor slaves. He desired to apprentice them for twelve years to their former owners, to give their masters three-fourths of their time during that period, and to appoint magistrates empowered to flog them for any refusal to work. He hoped to secure the assent of the colonists to these arrangements by granting them a loan of £15,000,000.[1]

The scheme was at once assailed from all sides. The West Indians were furious with Stanley for doing so much; the "Saints" were annoyed with him for doing so little. The former thought a loan of very little use; the latter thought an apprenticeship enforced by what O'Connell called "flogging magistrates"[2] differed only imperceptibly from slavery. The moment that Stanley sat down Lord Howick rose to object to the proposal for apprenticing the slaves. Lord Howick's opposition was for many reasons injurious to the ministry. He was the eldest son of the Prime Minister; he had proved the sincerity of his convictions by resigning the situation in the Colonial Office which he had held since the formation

[1] For Stanley's speech see *Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 1193. For the loan, ibid., p. 1226. For the apprentice plan, ibid., p. 1227.

[2] The expression will be found in *Hansard*, vol. xix. p. 1213.

of his father's administration.[1] His views were naturally supported by Buxton and the abolitionists, and Stanley was ultimately compelled to reduce the period of apprenticeship from twelve to seven years.[2] This concession did not satisfy the abolitionists,[3] but it was a compromise, and accepted with the favour with which compromises are usually regarded by representative assemblies. In the same way the planters were conciliated by another compromise. They objected to the loan of £15,000,000, but they offered to accept a free gift of £20,000,000.[4] The Government concluded that it was desirable to purchase their consent, and in consequence recommended Parliament to grant the £20,000,000 which the slave owners desired.[5] These two concessions—the one to the planters, the other to the "Saints"—ensured the safety of Stanley's measure. It passed the House of Commons on the 7th of August.[6] A fortnight afterwards it was read a third time in the House of Lords.[7] The Legislature had at last decided that the stain of slavery should be for ever removed from the British empire.

The bill passed.

Slavery was to cease from the 1st of August 1834. Abolitionists and planters awaited the day with anxiety. Predictions had been constantly hazarded that the slaves would celebrate their freedom by acts of riot and disorder. Poor ignorant negroes, suddenly enfranchised after years of bondage, could almost be excused for inaugurating their new-found liberty with temporary excesses. Fortunately these predictions

[1] For Lord Howick's speech see *Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 1231. He was succeeded as Under-Secretary to the Colonies by Mr. Lefevre, better known afterwards as Sir John Lefevre. Lord Howick afterwards accepted the Under-Secretaryship of State in the Home Office, which became vacant some months later through the death of G. Lamb.

[2] Ibid., vol. xix. p. 1256. The term of apprenticeship for prædial slaves was to be seven years, for non-prædial slaves five years.

[3] Buxton wished to limit the apprenticeship to a year, and was only beaten by 158 to 151. Ibid., p. 1218.

[4] *Ann. Reg.*, 1833, Hist., p. 196.

[5] *Hansard*, vol. xx. pp. 129, 1206. Stanley estimated that the average value of a slave was £38, and that the grant of £20,000,000 was equivalent to a vote of £37, 10*s.* for each slave.

[6] Ibid., p. 411.

[7] Ibid., p. 784.

were not realised. The missionaries, so long the object of unreasoning distrust in the colonies, exerted their influence to check disorder among their congregations. The long months of waiting were passed in unusual tranquillity. The day of emancipation arrived, and was celebrated as a universal holiday. On the eve of it every church and chapel in the West Indies was crowded with congregations of slaves; and as the midnight hour struck, from every place of worship in these colonies the hymn of praise was raised to the God of the white man, the God of the black; the God of the free man, the God of the slave.

The termination of slavery.

A reformed Legislature, in its first session, had gained the distinction of abolishing slavery; but the foundations of the work which was thus concluded had been laid in an unreformed Parliament. The Legislature, in fact, had done little more than register the decrees of an increasing majority of the people; and the slaves owed their freedom neither to Stanley nor to the Liberal party, but to the kindly feelings which were the distinguishing characteristic of the rising generation. The wave of thought which had swept away the harsher features of the Criminal Code, which had reformed the prisons, which had protected the dumb animals, had borne Buxton and his fellow-workers to the goal which had enabled them to terminate slavery. The slave, however, was not the only person in the British realm whose lot was hard. In every manufacturing city in England there were hundreds and even thousands of persons whose lot was in some respects more intolerable than that of the slaves. The abolitionists had shamed the nation into recognising the cruelties inflicted on the negro. Up to 1830 hardly a single person had drawn attention to the cruelties inflicted on British children in British factories.

An attempt has been made, in the early part of this history, to trace the great industrial revolution which was the immediate result of the inventions of the eighteenth century. These inventions enriched the country; but, in the first instance, they inflicted considerable hardships on the labouring poor. They "multiplied the nation" and did

Factory children.

"not increase the joy."[1] The textile trades, which had previously been scattered throughout the country, were aggregated into the great towns; and the weaver, whose cottage had been his factory, and whose handloom had been his only implement, found himself beaten by the great manufacturer, whose machinery enabled one pair of hands to do the work of ten men. The weaver was compelled by the force of circumstances to migrate to the nearest town, and, instead of maintaining himself by his independent exertions, to accept wages from a great capitalist. The change which thus occurred was attended with another consequence. When machinery was employed to perform the heavier operations of weaving or spinning it was found that the lighter portions of the work could be done by very young children. Child labour was, of course, cheaper than adult labour. In the race for wealth the manufacturers thought it absurd to pay a man a shilling for work which a child could be got to do for a penny; and children were consequently swept, almost as soon as they could walk, into the factories.

The apprentices.

In the first instance the children were usually obtained from a distance. The local authorities of London thought it a wise measure to relieve themselves of a redundant population by sending waggon-loads of miserable children into Lancashire. It was nothing to them that the best feelings of the human race were violated by the forced separation of these infants from their parents. "Saints" might persuade the Legislature to prohibit the dispersion of the slave family. There were not a dozen men in Parliament who objected to the enforced separation of the family of the free man who happened to be a pauper.[2] It was true that if the child had the misfortune to fall into the hands of a bad master it was

[1] Isaiah's beautiful phrase was thus applied by Sadler. *Hansard*, vol. xi. p. 375.

[2] See *ante*, vol. i. p. 162. If any one will take the trouble to inquire into the lot of a London boy apprenticed at the present time to a Grimsby smack-owner, who has the misfortune to obtain an ill-tempered master, he will doubt whether the local authorities of to-day are much more humane than the local authorities of sixty years ago.

doomed to a life of suffering, if a boy; to a life of shame and suffering, if a girl. What had local authorities, whose business it was to reduce the poor-rates, to do with the future lot of the children whom they got rid of? What had they to do with the feelings of their miserable parents? The London pauper was usually depraved: could anything be either wiser or better than to remove his child from the influence of his example?

The children of the factory towns.

Fortunately for the London children the demand for apprentices gradually slackened. The population of the manufacturing counties increased; children swarmed in the streets of every large town; and the manufacturers found it cheaper to employ children from their own neighbourhood than to send for apprentices to London. The local children enjoyed, at any rate, the advantage that they were not separated from their own homes. In every other respect their lot was miserable. The majority of them did not, indeed, commence work till nine years of age; but there were many employed under seven; still more who were under eight; it was not uncommon for them to be sent into the factories at six years old; and in rare instances they began work at five. The hours of labour were usually not less than twelve; they were occasionally thirteen. Half an hour's interval was allowed for dinner, and another half hour for tea; but, by a cruel wrong, the child was expected to clean the machinery in meal-times. In most factories a rule existed that any lost time due to the stoppage of machinery should be made up by extra work. Extra work, therefore, constantly prolonged the labour to fourteen hours a day.[1]

Unfortunately for the cause of humanity the mind of man is

[1] See Report, Factory Commission, Session 1833, Parliamentary Papers, No. 450, pp. 7, 11, 12, 15. The facts are purposely taken from that report, because the conclusions of the committee which preceded it were regarded by the manufacturers as unfair. The employment of children of seven years old was openly resorted to. In 1833 Duncombe read in the House of Commons an advertisement from a Macclesfield paper of 1815 for 4000 or 5000 persons from seven to twenty years old. *Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 110. It is fair, however, to add that Brocklehurst—speaking nine years later—threw doubts on the *bonâ fides* of this advertisement. Ibid., vol. lxii. p. 1459.

incapable of realising an aggregation of misery. Good people, who can feel for the sufferings of a single individual, are unable to comprehend the affliction of thousands. The account of a bad accident is more painful to most people than the description of a battlefield. In the same way the recital of the wrongs of myriads of children is, perhaps, less intelligible than the story of the sufferings of a single child. The parent who would endeavour to realise the life of a factory child of 1832 should try to imagine his own little boy or his own little girl—eight or nine years old—working in a factory. He should try to recollect that it would be his duty to rouse the child on a cold winter's morning at five, in order that it might be at its work at six; that, day after day, week after week, month after month, it would be forced to rise at the same hour; that, with two short intervals of half-an-hour each, it would be kept to its dull, monotonous employment for thirteen hours every day; that, during the whole of that time, it would be breathing a dusty, unwholesome atmosphere, rarely able to relieve its tired limbs by sitting down. Such, upon evidence which it is impossible to dispute, was the life of every factory child before 1833. There were tens of thousands of such unfortunates in England alone. And yet there were men, and good men, living who were capable of defending this monstrous system.

Their sufferings.

A child's life in what was deemed a well-managed factory was terrible. It is difficult to find an epithet descriptive of a child's life in an ill-managed factory. There the child was introduced, not merely to the unwholesome air of the mill, but to the vicious atmosphere of a degraded society. There, kicked and beaten by the operatives, it was compelled to listen to brutal language. In these mills young girls were constantly employed till eleven at night;[1] and, as darkness came on, the factory was little better than a brothel.[2] There, also, two short intervals of half-an-hour each were allowed for meals. But the

[1] See, for instance, William Cooper's evidence before the House of Commons' Committee, Parliamentary Papers, Session 1831–32, No. 706, pp. 1–13.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. xi. p. 369.

greedy employer frequently tampered with the clock, and the minute-hand was made to "tumble down," and thus minimise the interval of rest.[1] Child-labour was a drug in the market; and no one gave much thought for the health and life of a poor man's child.

A little, indeed, had been done to alleviate this load of misery. At the beginning of the century an epidemic, directly attributable to the unhealthy condition of the mills and the treatment of the children, broke out in Manchester among the factory apprentices. A law was passed in 1802 which required the walls of factories to be whitewashed, which restricted the hours of labour to twelve a day, and which forbade the continuance of work beyond nine at night, its commencement before six in the morning. The Act, however, only applied to mills in which apprentices were employed, and was, therefore, very partial. In 1816 the first Sir Robert Peel had the merit of introducing a rather wider measure. He obtained a select committee which recommended that no child should be employed in any factory for more than ten hours a day. The Lords were alarmed at so unprecedented an interference with the rights of labour, and restricted the bill to cotton mills, extending the hours of work to twelve daily. Some years afterwards Sir J. Hobhouse obtained for the factory child a quarter of a holiday on each Saturday. Twenty-five years of legislation had at last resulted in decreeing that the labour of a little child of nine who had the comparatively good fortune to be employed in a cotton factory should not exceed sixty-nine hours in one week.[2]

First factory legislation.

Factory children were not all lucky enough to be employed in cotton factories. The power-loom and the water-frame were applicable to all the textile industries, and thousands of children were working in the wool factories of Leeds and the silk mills of Macclesfield. The few and

[1] This statement, again, rests on the authority of the Factory Commissioners, p. 8.

[2] The history of previous legislation is traced in *Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 85. Sir Robert Peel's share in the first Factory Bill has been already referred to. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 164, and note.

inadequate regulations which applied to the cotton trade were not applicable to these industries, and the unfortunate children employed in them were at the mercy of their masters. But a singular chain of circumstances for some years prevented any effectual interference with the customs of the textile trades. The Tory party was constitutionally reluctant to attempt reforms of any kind; and most of its leading members, gentlemen of position and wealth, were ignorant of the conditions on which the textile industries were carried on. The Whig party was ready enough to suggest reforms, but it was nervously afraid of interfering with the freedom of labour. Its leading members failed to perceive that, as a little child is not a free agent, the laws which Adam Smith had laid down, and which Huskisson had enforced, could not be applicable to the labour of little children.

Reasons which interfered with the proposal of remedial legislation.

Among the members, however, who had recently been returned to Parliament was a gentleman whose abilities and whose eloquence gave him a position in the House of Commons which his opinions would not otherwise have gained for him. Michael Thomas Sadler was elected for the Duke of Newcastle's borough of Newark in the spring of 1829. He was rejected for the great borough of Leeds in December 1832. His parliamentary career, therefore, scarcely extended over four years. His first election was memorable for the cruel proceedings which the Duke adopted against those of his tenantry who voted against his wishes, and which he had the folly to justify by the historical inquiry, "Have I not the right to do what I like with my own?"[1] The Duke would have found a better justification for his conduct in the ability of the gentleman whom he had chosen to represent his borough. Almost immediately after his election Sadler delivered a speech which won for him the admiration of the old Tory party.[2] During his short parliamentary career he maintained the reputation which he thus acquired, and was

Sadler.

[1] See *ante*, vol. i. p. 123.

[2] See Greville's account of this speech in *Greville*, vol. i. pp. 190, 191.

uniformly regarded as one of the most capable exponents of the narrow views by which the extreme Tories were animated.

There was, however, one class of subjects on which Sadler's views did not correspond with those which were usually embraced by the Tory party. The country gentlemen were generally ready to sacrifice the rights of the poor by enclosing common after common. Sadler, on the contrary, based his political economy on the poetry of Goldsmith, and hated the selfish views which were converting the Auburns of England into desolate wheat-fields. He longed for the ideal state of society which he had remembered in his youth; when every cottager had a cow; when every cottager's wife had a spinning-wheel; when agriculturists were ignorant of the rotation of crops; and when the yarn was spun and the cloth was woven by manual labour alone.[1] Views of this sort were, of course, impracticable. It was as impossible to revert to the old-fashioned systems of production as it was to preserve the old-fashioned system of representation, which Sadler was concurrently defending. Machinery had altered the condition of society, and the wisest men accepted the alteration. Sadler's opinions did honour to his heart; they did little honour to his head.

Sadler had drawn attention to the miserable condition of the poor in the summer of 1831. On the 15th of December of that year he introduced a bill to regulate the labour of factory children. He proposed that no one under eighteen years of age should be employed for more than ten hours a day. Ten hours, said Sadler, was the limit of the labour of an adult felon. Could any person pretend that a little child should be required to perform harder work than a convict? The House of Commons, however, hesitated to accept the measure, and only assented to its second reading on condition that it was referred to a select committee.[2] In one sense the appointment of the committee was a fortunate circumstance. Its inquiry was protracted throughout the session,

The first Factory Bill.

[1] For Sadler's views on these subjects see *Hansard*, vol. viii. p. 517.

[2] See ibid., vol. ix. p. 255; vol. x. p. 104; and vol. xi. pp. 340 and 398.

and its investigations revealed a state of misery which even Sadler had not disclosed. Medical authorities came forward to explain the consequences of long hours of work in ill-ventilated factories. Operatives came forward to recount the story of their own sufferings as children, and to show the distorted limbs which had been the legacy of early and heavy work.[1] The committee, merely reporting the evidence, without comment of its own, made a bill of factory reform a necessity. Unfortunately the report was made at too late a date to receive attention in the unreformed Parliament. The first efficient Factory Bill was reserved for a reformed Legislature, and for other hands than Sadler's. Sadler sought the suffrages of the electors of the great borough of Leeds, to which two members had been given by the Reform Act. One of the seats was certain to be gained by Marshall, a local Liberal. For the other a sharp contest ensued between Macaulay and Sadler. It would have been difficult to have selected two better representatives of the old system which had crumbled away and the new system which had replaced it. The young Whig gained an easy victory over the old Tory—"this fellow," as Macaulay contemptuously called him. The reformed House of Commons gained the immense advantage of Macaulay's assistance. Even Liberal politicians, however, may feel regret that the House which welcomed Macaulay should have found no place for Sadler, and that the conduct and credit of the measure which Sadler had originated should have passed into other hands.[2]

The Factory Committee.

Sadler defeated at Leeds.

Great measures never fail from lack of exponents, and Sadler's place was immediately occupied by a younger man. At the commencement of the session of 1833 Lord Ashley, the eldest son of Lord Shaftesbury, gave notice of his intention to introduce a Factory Bill.[3] His bill forbade the employment of children under nine years

Lord Ashley takes up factory reform.

[1] The Committee's Report, in Parliamentary Papers, No. 706, Session 1831–2.

[2] The history of the Leeds election will be found in Trevelyan's *Macaulay*, vol. i. p. 287. Cf. *Life of Sadler*, p. 407.

[3] *Hansard*, vol. xv. p. 391.

of age; it forbade the employment of young persons under eighteen years old for more than ten hours a day; it provided for the appointment of inspectors to enforce the law, and for the education of the children employed. The manufacturers, however, refused to accept a measure which, they fancied, might interfere with their profits. Lancashire was alarmed at the prospect which humanity held out to it. The Northern division of the county was represented by Stanley, the Colonial Minister, and Mr. Wilson Patten; the Southern division by Wood and Lord Molyneux, the eldest son of Lord Sefton. Mr. Wilson Patten and Lord Molyneux were persuaded by their constituents to urge the appointment of a Royal Commission, charged with the duty of inquiring into the necessity for the new law. The investigations of Sadler's Committee, it was argued, had been confined to the case of the workmen; it was only just that the masters should have an opportunity of replying to them. These arguments were addressed to willing ears. On the 3rd of April the House, by a majority of one, carried the appointment of the Commission. Every member who voted in the majority probably imagined that factory legislation had been effectually postponed for another year.[1]

A Royal Commission appointed.

The Commission, which was immediately appointed, lost no time in proceeding to its duties. Some of its members repaired to the manufacturing districts of Scotland, others to the various seats of the textile industries in England, and in this way they succeeded, in an incredibly short time, in collecting a mass of information. Melbourne quickened their steps by letters from the Home Office, and, two months after their appointment, insisted on their reporting to him in a week.[2] The voluminous report, however, was not in the hands of members on the 5th of July, when the Factory Bill was again before the House; and Althorp, anxious to secure the co-operation of the manufacturers, proposed that it should be again referred to a select

[1] The motion was carried by 74 votes to 73. *Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 113.

[2] See the Commissioners' Report.

committee. Even his influence could not ensure the success of a procrastinating proposal. He was beaten by a considerable majority.[1] Thirteen days afterwards, however, he was more successful in limiting the application of the ten hours' clause to children under thirteen years of age.[2] Discouraged by this defeat, Ashley gave up the further conduct of the bill. Remodelling it, Althorp decided on limiting the labour of children under thirteen years of age to eight hours a day, and of extending the hours of work of young persons above thirteen and under eighteen to twelve a day, or sixty-nine a week.[3] The bill thus amended became law, and constituted the first of the many great measures of factory reform.

The new Parliament, in its first session, had thus accomplished three great measures of reform. It had remodelled the Irish Church; it had abolished slavery; it had regulated factory labour. Commercial measures of the first importance, involving the revision of the charter of the Bank of England, and the termination of the monopoly of the East India Company, had simultaneously occupied its attention. Yet the ministers who had reformed Parliament, who had remodelled the Irish Church, who had abolished slavery, who had terminated the monopoly of the East India Company, and who had reconstituted the Bank of England, had lost their popularity and had incurred the contempt of their supporters.[4] This result was partly inevitable. Heroic legislation brings its authors fame, but every heroic measure excites hostility against its originators. West Indian proprietors were vehement in their opposition to a ministry which had abolished slavery; the clergy were loud in their complaints of a Government which had placed its sacrilegious hands on the Irish Church;

The Factory Act passed.

Decreasing popularity of the ministry.

164 votes to 141. *Hansard*, vol. xix. p. 254. [2] Ibid., p. 913.

[3] Cf. ibid., vol. xix. p. 887; and vol. xx. p. 449. It is worth while adding that, in 1836, Poulett Thomson endeavoured to exclude children from the age of twelve to thirteen from the operation of the Act. He was resisted by Lord Ashley, and, though supported by Stanley and Peel, only carried the second reading of his bill by 178 votes to 176. Ibid., vol. xxxiii. pp. 737–788. The narrow majority taught him prudence, and he dropped his bill. Ibid., vol. xxxiv. p. 306.

[4] See *Brougham*, vol. iii. p. 269.

the manufacturers grumbled at the Factory Act; the Radicals at the Coercion Act. The lawyers objected to the reforms which Brougham was initiating, and rallied in support of the Lords who had thrown out the Local Courts Bill. From all sides ministers became the subject of attack. Unfortunately for themselves, they seemed indifferent to abuse, and reluctant to reply to it. With one prominent exception, they sat, night after night, in sullen silence. Althorp, hating office, refused to struggle for its retention. Palmerston, labouring under the anxieties of his department, cared little for internal policy; Graham, alarmed at the reforms which the Government was proposing, refused to defend them; and the brunt of every battle accordingly fell on Stanley.[1] Nothing could have been more unfortunate for a Whig Ministry. The warmest cheers which greeted Stanley came from the Tory benches; his most splendid exertions were made in defence of measures which thoroughgoing Liberals disliked. Every speech which Stanley made enhanced his own reputation, but almost every one of his speeches widened the breach which was already separating the Government from its supporters.

Increasing popularity of the Conservative leaders.

At the very period when the Government was falling into disrepute the people began to display new feelings of confidence in the Opposition. The old Tory party, indeed, represented by the Eldons and the Sidmouths, was as unpopular as ever; but the new Tory party, which was led in the one House by the greatest soldier of the age, and in the other House by the most accomplished statesman of his age, was gaining the favour of thoughtful people. The reaction which was thus taking place was favoured by the prudent conduct of Peel. Separating himself from the violent members of his own party, resisting the violent members of the Radical party, Peel continually gave fresh proofs of the moderation of his views and of the superiority of his powers. His influence was continually increasing, while Althorp's authority was constantly waning:

[1] See *Brougham*, vol. iii. p. 266.

till, at the end of the session, the leader of the minority spoke with almost as much weight as the leader of the majority.[1]

The increasing popularity of the Conservatives was first shown by the altered demeanour of the people towards Wellington. In 1832 Wellington had been assailed with a violence which was as indecent as it had been undeserved. His windows had been broken by the mob; and, on the anniversary of his crowning victory, his life had been actually in danger, and had only been saved by the interposition of the police.[2] In 1833 the people repented of their violence. They forgot the Duke's famous speech on Reform, they recollected his famous victory, and thought with shame of their own ingratitude. Resuming their former habits, instead of assailing him with hisses and reproaches, they uncovered as he passed; when he rode in the Park, the sitters rose as he went by; when he went out hunting at Strathfieldsaye, the people made way for him. Some persons, more impetuous than the rest, even cried "God bless him!" as he walked through the streets. In 1832 the Duke had been upbraided by the people; in 1833 he was treated with a reverence which was hardly extended to the king.[3]

The most careless observer could see symptoms of the increasing popularity of the Conservative party. The unpopularity of the Grey Ministry was increased by the ill-success which attended its financial measures. Sanguine economical reformers had anticipated the best consequences from Althorp's accession to the Exchequer. Althorp had always promoted economy; he had always supported free trade; and it was naturally concluded that he would apply in office the principles which he had laid down in Opposition. The expectations which were thus formed compelled him, at the outset of his career as finance minister, to propose the ambitious Budget of 1831. The story of that Budget has already been related.[4] The minister was defeated

Althorp's failure as a financier.

[1] *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 373. [2] *Ann. Reg.*, 1832, Chron., p. 76.
[3] Gleig's *Wellington*, vol. iv. p. 66; and *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 372.
[4] *Ante*, p. 202.

on all its most prominent details, and was obliged to satisfy himself with a moderate and unsensational proposal. The alterations which were thus made compelled him towards the close of the year to make a second financial statement. In his original Budget he had placed the revenue at £47,150,000, and the expenditure at £46,850,000. In his amended Budget he placed the revenue at £47,250,000, and the expenditure at 46,750,000.[1] These anticipations, unluckily, proved delusive. The revenue of the year only amounted to £46,424,440; the expenditure reached £47,123,297. The surplus, promised in the autumn, became a deficit in the spring, and Althorp's reputation was damaged by the error in his calculations.[2]

The Budget of 1832.

Fortunately for Althorp the debates on the Reform Bill diverted the attention of most persons from finance. The Budget of 1832 was postponed, and was not again brought forward till the close of July. This postponement made it certain that no great financial measures would be attempted by the minister. The tale which Althorp had to tell was, in fact, a very simple one. The position of the Treasury had not improved since the conclusion of the financial year. The deficit, which had amounted to about three-quarters of a million in January, had reached a million and a quarter in April.[3] The position was critical. The ministry decided on meeting the crisis by a large reduction in the expenditure of the State. The army and navy estimates were reduced, and a dwindling revenue was, in this way, made sufficient for the purposes to which it was applicable. Large reductions of expenditure, however, were not the only means which were taken to avert financial difficulty. Since the commencement of the nineteenth century the financial year had always ended on the 5th of January. In 1832 Althorp adopted another method.[4] The first quarter of the

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xiv. p. 849.

[2] Ibid., vol. vii. p. 1031.

[3] £1,240,000. Ibid., vol. xiv. p. 853.

[4] Up to the conclusion of the eighteenth century the financial year closed on the 10th of October. The Irish financial year closed on the 25th of March. After 1800 the intermediate date was chosen, and the financial year in both countries was closed on the 5th of January. This odd date admits of a simple

year had been singularly unfortunate, and he decided on excluding it from his calculations, and on estimating the revenue and the expenditure for the twelve months ending the 5th of April. Worried with protracted debates on the Reform Bill, anxiously awaiting its own dissolution, the House of Commons accepted the suggestion without remark, and Althorp was thus enabled to lessen his difficulties by excluding an unlucky quarter from his Budget.

Althorp's task was facilitated by this change. The expenditure of the twelve months was placed at £45,696,376; the revenue at £46,470,000; the surplus at £770,000.[1] These expectations were more than justified. The expenditure of the twelve months, instead of reaching £45,696,376, only amounted to £45,366,000; the revenue of the year, instead of yielding only £46,470,000, reached £46,853,009; and the surplus, which had been computed at £770,000, exceeded £1,480,000. Economy had thus effectually converted a deficit into a surplus, and had relieved the ministry and the State from an embarrassing situation. The relief was the more welcome because taxation was being borne with decreasing patience. An unreformed House of Commons had grown used to sacrifices from which it had so often proved impossible to escape, but the new electors were clamouring for relief from the burdens which oppressed them. Reform, which was popularly regarded as the panacea for every evil, was supposed to be the certain precursor of lower taxes; and every class and every interest in the kingdom was expecting that some peculiar grievance of its own would be remedied by a reformed Legislature. Economy, sedulously encouraged by the Government, promoted these expectations. The expen-

explanation. The four quarters of the English financial year used to end at Michaelmas, at Christmas, at Lady Day, and at Midsummer. On the adoption of the new style, in 1751, the calendar lost eleven days. The thirteen weeks of which the spring quarter was usually composed did not expire till the 5th of April. A century passed before an English financier was found with common sense enough to alter this arrangement. Public officers are even more conservative than financiers, and the Office of Woods still collects many of the Crown rents on the 5th of January, 5th of April, &c.

[1] For the Budget of 1832 see *Hansard*, vol. xiv. p. 849.

diture, which had been estimated in 1832 at £45,696,376, and which had actually amounted to only £45,366,000, was placed in 1833 at £44,922,219. The revenue, which had been placed in the Budget of 1832 at £46,470,000, and which had yielded £46,853,000, would, it was thought, yield £46,494,128 in 1833.[1]

The Budget of 1833.

These figures evidently pointed to a sensible reduction in the taxation of the country. Althorp decided on abolishing the excise on tiles, the house and window tax on shops, and the duty on raw cotton, imposed in 1831; on reducing the duties on advertisements; and on decreasing the tax on policies of marine insurance and the duty on soap by one-half.[2] These changes absorbed £1,056,000 out of the £1,572,000 of the surplus.[3] Satisfactory as they were, they did not meet the anticipations of reformers and economists. The counties were everywhere agitating for a repeal of the duties on malt; the towns were simultaneously demanding

[1] The figures of the Budget were as follows:—

Expenditure.

Consolidated fund	£30,300,000
Army	6,673,251
Navy	4,658,635
Ordnance	1,455,223
Miscellaneous	1,835,110
	£44,922,219
Revenue	46,494,128
Surplus	£1,571,909

The loss to the revenue from these changes was as follows:—

Tiles	£37,000
Marine insurance	100,000
Advertisements	75,000
Houses and windows	224,000
Cotton	300,000
Soap	300,000
	£1,056,000
Surplus	£1,572,000
Remaining surplus	516,000

[2] For the Budget, and the figures in the foregoing notes, see *Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 326.

the extinction of the tax on houses. The malt-tax had for years been the favourite object of the attacks of the country gentlemen. In 1816 Vansittart had been forced to surrender the war malt-tax; in 1819, in the worst of his many bad Budgets, he had imposed an additional duty on malt. In 1821 Western had carried the repeal of the additional duty against the Government; and, though the decision had been subsequently reversed, the ministry had been forced to surrender the duty in 1822.[1] The duty since that date had remained at *2s. 7d.* a bushel, or at *20s. 8d.* a quarter. But the agriculturists had never submitted with patience to the continuance of the tax. On the 26th of April 1833 Sir William Ingilby, one of the members for Lincolnshire, a county which enjoys exceptional advantages for the cultivation of barley, proposed the reduction of the duty on malt from *20s. 8d.* to *10s.* a quarter. It was in vain that Althorp pointed out that the proposed reduction would seriously derange the Budget. Tory members naturally supported a motion which was at once embarrassing to the ministry and acceptable to country gentlemen. Whig county members hesitated to oppose the wishes of their constituents; and Radicals, like Cobbett, welcomed a proposal which involved a large reduction of taxation. From these various circumstances Ingilby succeeded in carrying his motion by a majority of ten.[2] The agriculturists had won a victory which was more significant than that which they had gained in 1821.

The malt-tax.

This memorable division was nearly altering the history of the world. Grey thought the consequences of it "so infinitely serious" that he hastily collected a Cabinet and privately intimated to his more immediate friends his intention of resigning.[3] The ministers, however, determined, before abandoning their seats to their opponents, to endeavour to reverse the decision which had been the cause of their embarrassment. It so happened that an opportunity immediately occurred for

[1] See *ante*, vol. i. p. 337; and vol. ii. pp. 105, 125.
[2] 162 votes to 152. *Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 716.
[3] *Brougham*, vol. iii. p. 264. *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 368.

their doing so. One of the members for the City of London, Sir John Key, had announced his intention of moving for the repeal of the assessed taxes on the 30th of April. Key's motion seemed, on general grounds, more likely than Ingilby's to be embarrassing to the ministry. The repeal of the malt-tax would, it was supposed, have chiefly benefited the country gentlemen. The repeal of the assessed taxes would confer a direct advantage on the poorer householders.[1] County members were in favour of one proposal, but the much more formidable body of borough members was urging the other. It required, therefore, a greater effort to defeat Key than to defeat Ingilby. Whig members, however, who had supported Ingilby, or who had abstained from voting against him, were already trembling at the possible consequence of their own votes, and anxious to repair the error which they had committed;[2] and the ministry, acquainted with their penitence, seized the opportunity which Key's motion afforded for reversing Ingilby's victory. Twenty-four hours before Key's motion came on Althorp announced his intention of meeting it with a resolution setting out the deficiency which would be occasioned by the reduction of the malt-tax and the repeal of the taxes on houses and windows, declaring that the deficiency could only be met by a general tax upon property, and affirming the inexpediency of adopting this course.[3] The resolution was admirably adapted to suit

The house-tax.

[1] In theory the larger houses were rated at a higher scale than the smaller ones. Houses from £10 to £20 paid 1*s.* 6*d.* in the pound; from £20 to £40. 2*s.* 3*d.*; above £40, 2*s.* 10*d.* But in practice this difference was redressed by a very unfair contrivance. The smaller houses were usually assessed at their full value; the larger houses were always rated at a nominal value. The Governors of the Bank of England were in the habit of valuing their premises at £40,000 a year; they were rated at £2500 a year. *Hansard*, vol. xix. p. 71. There were only four houses in Bedfordshire assessed at more than £70 a year; yet Bedfordshire contained Woburn, Oakley, Wrest, Haines, Ampthill, and other mansions. Ibid., vol. xvii. p. 761. Lord Westminster's princely seat, Eaton, in Cheshire, was assessed at £300 a year; Lord Lowther's castle in Westmoreland at less than £200; Blenheim at only £300; Raby, Lambton, and other mansions, almost equal to these, at less than £100.

[2] *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 368. *Spencer*, p. 463.

[3] *Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 728.

the exigencies of the situation. A Whig county member might desire the reduction of the tax on malt; but even a Whig county member might regard the income-tax as too heavy a price to pay for the reduction of the malt duty.

Key was not deterred by Althorp's resolution from bringing forward his projected motion. The clamour against the assessed taxes was so great that the member for a populous constituency could not afford to disregard it. Night after night petitions were presented from the metropolitan and other boroughs against these imposts.[1] The metropolis suffered especially from the assessed taxes, because the average value of each London house was higher than that of houses in other towns. The trifling relief[2] which Althorp afforded the householder in his Budget was regarded as wholly inadequate; and the metropolitan members insisted on much larger reductions. Althorp's notice, however, obviously doomed them to disappointment. Whig members, unwilling to provoke a crisis in the ministry, rallied to the support of the Government, and Althorp's amendment was accordingly carried by a large majority.[3]

Motion for its repeal defeated.

The Government was relieved by this decision from considerable embarrassment. Key's success would have made it necessary to recast the Budget. Althorp's victory preserved the assessed taxes in their existing form. Ministers, however, were destined in a short time to appreciate the price which they had paid for their majority. A month before, Cam Hobhouse, the member for Westminster and Secretary at War, accepted the position of Chief Secretary of Ireland,

1 See, for instance, *Hansard*, vol. xv. pp. 560, 616, 994, 1100.

2 By the law of 1823 (*ante*, vol. ii. p. 151) three windows were struck off any house used as a shop. Althorp proposed to strike off all the windows used either for shops or warehouses, and to reduce the house-tax in the same proportion. *Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 326.

3 By 355 votes to 157. Ingilby, who was extremely angry at this reversal of the victory which he had won four days before, subsequently moved to omit from the amendment all the words relating to the malt-tax; but he was beaten by 285 votes to 131. Ibid., p. 833. An attempt was made afterwards to discontinue the assessed taxes from the 5th of October 1833, and was defeated by 273 votes to 124. Ibid., vol. xviii. p. 32.

which Stanley's promotion to the Colonial Office had vacated.[1] Vehemently abused by his constituents, he chivalrously determined to vacate both office and seat and offer himself for re-election. His chivalry did not save him from defeat. De Lacy Evans, an officer in the army, who had already acquired notoriety for his extreme Radical views, opposed him on the hustings. The "roughs" of Westminster, issuing from alley and court, assailed Hobhouse and his supporters with a shower of carrots. The electors replaced him with Evans;[2] and the ministry was compelled to select a new Chief Secretary for Ireland.[3]

Hobhouse defeated at Westminster.

Immediately after Hobhouse's defeat the irritation which the Budget had caused was even more strongly shown. Meetings were held in every parish in the metropolis to denounce the ministry; the Birmingham Political Union declared the Government "unable or unwilling to extricate the country from the difficulties or dangers with which it was surrounded;" and a meeting was summoned in Coldbath Fields to pave the way for the formation of a National Convention. Ministers, alarmed at the prospects held out to them, issued a proclamation forbidding the meeting. The proclamation received no attention. A considerable

Irritation in London and the provinces.

[1] The office was, in the first instance, offered to Abercromby, who stood out, however, for the Cabinet. The ministry declined to admit another Chief Secretary to the Cabinet, and Abercromby then definitely refused the offer. *Brougham*, vol. iii. p. 230. The place was subsequently offered to Poulett Thomson. *Life of Lord Sydenham*, p. 67. Hobhouse's appointment was gazetted on the 28th of March 1833.

[2] Hobhouse stood for Westminster after Romilly's death, in 1818. He was defeated, and signalised his defeat by publishing a pamphlet on Parliamentary Reform. The House of Commons thought the pamphlet libellous, and sent the writer to Newgate. In the same year a printer was prosecuted in Paris for publishing a translation of an account, which Hobhouse had written, of the Hundred Days. Some passages in this work were supposed to reflect on the "right" of Louis XVIII. to the throne. For this trial *Ann. Reg.*, 1819, Chron., p. 86. The Hundred Days is referred to by Byron, in the dedication to "Childe Harold," as "a work worthy of the better days of our history." Cf. *Melbourne*, vol. i. pp. 135, 146.

[3] See the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. cxxxiii. p. 286, an article founded on the autobiographical memoir which Lord Broughton (Sir J. Hobhouse) left behind him. Cf. *Spencer*, p. 465. *Greville*, vol. ii. p. 368.

number of persons collected at the appointed time, marching under the old familiar banners which had been seen fourteen years before at Peterloo. The police, ordered to enforce the proclamation, charged the people, freely using their staves. A sharp fight ensued, in which one of the police was stabbed to death, and other members of the force were wounded. The ministry which had issued the proclamation, and which was held responsible for the proceedings which had followed it, incurred all the unpopularity which was excited by the disturbance.[1]

Attack upon the police.

The circumstances of the meeting had been deplorable; its consequences were even more grave. The coroner's jury, summoned to hold an inquest on the body of the unfortunate policeman who had been killed, returned a verdict of justifiable homicide. It justified its finding by complaining that the Riot Act had not been read; that the people had not been ordered to disperse; that the Government had taken no precautions to prevent the meeting; and that the police had acted in a ferocious and brutal manner. The coroner was foolish enough to tell the jurors that their verdict was disgraceful to them. The crowd in court showed its sense of the matter by vociferously exclaiming, "Bravo, jurors! you have done your duty nobly; the country is indebted to you." This demonstration did not deter the law officers from endeavouring to set aside the obnoxious verdict. It was quashed by the Court of King's Bench on the 29th of May; the success almost forced the ministry to prosecute the rioters who had killed and wounded the policemen. A man named George Fursey, who had taken an active part in the riot, had already been committed for trial for stabbing two of the police. He was tried on the 4th of June at the Old Bailey. But the jury at the Old Bailey was no more amenable than the jury at the inquest. It listened to the numerous complaints which were made of the conduct of the police; it turned a deaf ear to the evidence brought forward by the Government; and insisted on acquitting the prisoner.[2]

[1] See *Ann. Reg.*, 1833, Hist., p. 159, and Chron., pp. 79, 82, 319.

[2] For the coroner's inquest see *Ann. Reg.*, 1833, Chron., p. 80. For the trial at the Old Bailey, ibid., p. 319.

These lamentable proceedings convinced the ministry of its unpopularity. Althorp had succeeded in defeating Key's motion; but the Clerkenwell riot was a much more formidable circumstance than Key's speech, and the ministry thought it necessary to give way. The house-tax and window-tax were again reduced; and Althorp undertook to repeal the house-tax unconditionally at the earliest opportunity.[1] This concession, however, did not diminish the agitation for the repeal of the obnoxious taxes. In Marylebone an association was formed to resist their payment. The authorities had to proceed to the extreme course of seizing the goods of defaulting tradesmen. The troops were placed under arms, the police were held in readiness for action, before they ventured to make the seizure.[2] Such measures had not even been resorted to in the worst days of the worst Tory Governments.

The assessed taxes reduced.

The agitation against the assessed taxes had thus made the ministry profoundly unpopular in London and other large towns.[3] Throughout the whole of 1833 its unpopularity continued to increase, and the populace lost confidence in the Government which had excited boundless enthusiasm the year before. Yet the ministry enjoyed one advantage in 1833 which was of great service to it. The trade of the country recovered from the depression which had characterised it since 1826. The exports and imports increased both in value and quantity, and the higher prices which the manufacturers were enabled to obtain for their produce tended to raise the rate of wages and improve the position of the manufacturing

Unpopularity of ministers.

Increasing prosperity of the country.

[1] For these reductions see *Hansard*, vol. xx. p. 762. An additional £400,000 was remitted. The income of the year had originally been estimated at £46,494,128. It had been reduced by the changes in the original Budget to £45,438,188. It was now reduced to £45,038,188, or only £116,000 more than the estimated expenditure.

[2] *Ann. Reg.*, 1833, Chron., pp. 142, 151, and 155. In the previous May goods seized at Birmingham on non-payment of taxes were publicly sold. Fifty people attended the sale, but they would not allow any one to bid for the lots except the wife of the man from whom they had been seized. Ibid., p. 73.

[3] *Hansard*, vol. xx. p. 425.

poor. This improvement could be traced in almost every branch of British trade. All the textile industries, in particular, were notoriously enjoying an era of unprecedented prosperity;[1] and even the miserable weavers, who still won a precarious subsistence from their hand-looms,[2] derived some advantage from the improvement in trade.

The increasing prosperity of the country produced a marked effect on the receipts at the Exchequer. The revenue sensibly improved; and ministers decided on availing themselves of the improvement to reduce some of the taxation which had excited so much opposition in the previous year. A fortnight after the commencement of the session of 1834 Althorp explained the measures which he proposed for the purpose. The revenue of 1833 had been expected to exceed the expenditure by £516,000. The surplus had actually amounted to £1,500,000. The ministry hoped in February 1834 to reduce the estimates by £500,000, and thus add another half-million to the surplus. It expected to derive an additional £600,000 from the tea-duties,[3] and thus raise the surplus to £2,600,000. On the other hand, they had to provide some £800,000 for the interest of the £20,000,000, the price which in the previous year they had agreed to pay for the abolition of slavery. They had, there-

Improvement in the revenue.

[1] The improvement in 1833 may be inferred from the following figures. The value of cotton exported rose from £17,398,378 in 1832 to £19,657,672 in 1833; that of wool from £5,479,866 to £6,511,780; that of silk from £529,990 to £740,294; that of linen from £1,783,432 to £2,199,441. This improvement extended to the hardware trades. The export of iron, for instance, increased from £1,190,748 to £1,428,723. A very interesting account of the improvement will be found in Mr. Morrison's speech, *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 39. The declared value of all the exports rose from £36,046,027 in 1832 to £39,305,513 in 1833.

[2] See *ante*, p. 318.

[3] Up to the 22nd of April 1834, the East India Company had a monopoly of the tea trade, and the duty was 96 per cent. upon all teas sold under 2*s.*, and 100 per cent. on all teas sold over 2*s.* per lb. The monopoly of the Company forced up the price of tea, and, while raising its price, increased the duty. By the 3rd and 4th William IV. c. 101, tea was subjected to duties varying from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* per lb., and it was from this change, and from the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly, that Althorp hoped to get his additional £600,000. In 1836 a fixed duty of 2*s.* 1*d.* per lb. was substituted for the varying scale of duties. M'Culloch's *Commercial Dict.*, ad verb. "Tea."

fore, a net surplus of £1,800,000 to dispose of. Town and country were both clamouring for a share in this surplus. Althorp decided on disregarding the wishes of the country gentlemen and confining his relief to the town householder. The window-tax yielded some £1,273,000 a year; the house-tax, £1,200,000. The surplus, therefore, did not admit of the repeal of both taxes, and Althorp decided on retaining the window-tax and abandoning the house-duty.[1]

The Budget was much less ambitious than some of those which had preceded it; but it was much more popular. The Whig ministers had attended to the demands of the towns, and they could consequently afford to disregard the clamour of the country gentlemen. Yet they could not wholly ignore the distressed condition of the rural districts. The higher prices, which had restored prosperity to the manufacturers, had not affected the agriculturists. On the contrary, agricultural produce was selling at a lower rate than had been known for years;[2] and the charges on real property were continually increasing. The local and imperial taxation on a farm exceeded in some cases the entire value of its produce;[3] and the letting value of land decreased to an unprecedented extent. An instance was given in 1833 which

Agricultural distress.

[1] Althorp's speech will be found in *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 359. A corrected Budget was proposed on the 25th of July, and Althorp's anticipations of February were not wholly fulfilled. The savings, instead of amounting to £500,000, it was then found, barely reached £150,000. The expenditure of the year was then placed at £44,971,213, or, including the charge of the West India Loan, at £45,721,000; the revenue (including the house-tax) at £46,914,586. The surplus, therefore, amounted to about £1,200,000; and this surplus was increased, by the duty on tea and by other additions, to £1,620,000. To this surplus Althorp added £195,000 by increasing the license for the sale of spirits and beer; and he devoted the money which was thus at his disposal to the repeal of the house-tax and of the duty on starch, and to the reduction of various other taxes. The whole of these reductions involved an estimated loss of £1,581,000, and left him with a small surplus of £234,000. He thought himself justified, with this surplus, in reducing the duty on spirits in Ireland from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 2*s.* 4*d.* a gallon. Increased consumption, he thought, would prevent any loss from this change; but the loss would under no circumstances exceed £200,000. Ibid., vol. xxv. pp. 498–513.

[2] The price of wheat in 1834 was only £2, 6*s.* 2*d.* With the single exception of 1822, the average price had not fallen so low for more than forty years. It fell to £1, 19*s.* 4*d.* in 1835.

[3] Ibid., vol. xxi. p. 655.

illustrated these facts in a very clear manner. Some land in the Weald of Sussex had been let in 1792 for eight shillings an acre, and the rate on it at that time amounted to four shillings. In 1833 these burdens had changed places: the rent had fallen to four shillings, the rate had increased to eight shillings. But this fall in the letting value of land had been exceeded in other places. Lord Chandos stated in the House of Commons that land in Buckinghamshire, usually let at thirty-five to thirty-seven shillings an acre, was letting in 1834 at from seven to fourteen shillings.

These figures proved the extent of the distress which the agriculturists were enduring. In 1822 the landed classes had forced a Tory Government to concede inquiry into their grievances. In 1833 they succeeded in obtaining another select committee to investigate the causes of their distress.[1] The report of the committee could not have been very satisfactory to them. Its members were clearly of opinion that the best chances of improvement "rest rather on the cautious forbearance than on the active interposition of Parliament."[2] But the report had the merit of providing the spokesmen of the landed interest with incontestable proofs of agricultural distress. Agitation had just secured the inhabitants of towns a boon of £1,200,000 a year; the agriculturists had "got only a civil paragraph in the King's Speech."[3] Althorp had himself admitted that he took off the house-tax, not because he thought it unjust, but because he knew it to be unpopular.[4] Did not this admission constitute a direct invitation to the agriculturists to clamour against the burdens which were peculiar to themselves? The time was obviously ripe for attempting agitation. The ministry was falling into disrepute, and was unable to rely on the votes of its nominal supporters. A week after the Budget, Lord Chandos embodied in a distinct resolution the claims of the

The discontent of the agriculturists.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xvii. p. 958.

[2] Report of Agricultural Committee of 1833, Parliamentary Papers, Session 1833, vol. v. p. 13.

[3] The expression was Peel's. *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 375.

[4] Ibid., p. 365. Cf. *Greville*, vol. iii. p. 60.

agricultural classes to financial relief. The attack proved one of the most formidable which the Whig Ministry had yet sustained in the Reformed House of Commons. Chandos was only defeated by 206 votes to 202.[1] The agriculturists had been on the point of securing another victory.

This division encouraged the agriculturists to make one more effort to secure attention to their claims. Ingilby accordingly renewed the motion which he had succeeded in carrying the previous year for the repeal of the malt-tax. Malt, however, yielded a revenue of nearly £5,000,000, and Ingilby consequently thought it incumbent on him to show how the deficit, which the repeal of the tax would occasion, could be supplied. He relied for doing so mainly on an increased tax on spirits and wine, and on a duty on beer and on leather; though he supplemented these proposals with eccentric suggestions of a poll-tax on the peerage, on baronets and on knights, and of a tax on gambling-houses.[2] These suggestions proved fatal to his proposal. Peel declined to support him; the Whigs, previously consulted at a meeting at Althorp's house,[3] rallied in support of the ministry; and Ingilby was defeated by 271 votes to 170.[4] Ingilby's attack had thus enabled the Government to retrieve the position of which Chandos' motion had almost deprived it, and to re-establish its predominance in the House of Commons.

The country gentlemen had gained nothing from their proceedings in Parliament; and in the meanwhile, intent on the decrease in their rents, and the failure of their tenants, they had neglected to examine another phase of the agricultural question. The labourer, like the landlord and the tenant-farmer, had his own grievance. Landlords, like Lord Marney, were in the habit of saying that "a family can live well on seven shillings a week, and on eight shillings very well indeed."[5] The miserable people who sustained a precarious

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 694. [2] Ibid., p. 886.

[3] For this meeting see *Greville*, vol. iii. p. 65.

[4] *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 925. Cobbett soon afterwards proposed the abolition of the malt-tax from the 5th of the following October, and was beaten by 142 votes to 59. Ibid., vol. xxii. pp. 284–306. [5] *Sybil*, book iii. chap. ii.

existence on these sums could have furnished, in every cottage, a practical contradiction to the allegation. The lot of the labouring poor was annually becoming more intolerable; but the poor had neither the knowledge nor the intelligence which would have enabled them to escape from it. They had nothing to do but to submit to their employers' terms during five months of the year, and try to live on the parish dole during the remainder of it.

The rural poor.

Labour, however, was gradually discovering the truth of the old saying, that God helps those who help themselves. Bodies of working-men, convinced of the maxim that unity is strength, had enrolled themselves in associations intended to protect the rights of the labourer. The Trades' Unions had naturally derived considerable advantage from the legislation of 1825.[1] The revival of trade in 1833 afforded them an opportunity of reasserting their power; and, throughout the whole of that year, their leaders redoubled their customary exertions. In the commencement of 1834 it occurred to some people that an organisation similar to a Trades' Union might be extended with advantage to agricultural labour. Dorsetshire was a purely agricultural county, in which labour was paid at a miserably low rate. A union was formed; and in the formation of the union no law was broken. It was, however, customary in these unions to administer an oath to the unionists. An old Act of George III., passed amidst the terror which the Mutiny at the Nore had caused, had made it an offence, punishable by transportation, to administer illegal oaths. The statute had been rarely enforced: practically it had been disregarded by every Trades' Union in the kingdom. It was suddenly resuscitated to punish the men who had formed the first Agricultural Union. Six wretched labourers,[2] wholly ignorant of the law, were prosecuted at Dorchester for administering illegal oaths. The jury found them guilty. The judge, after two days' consideration, thought himself bound to inflict the punishment

The Dorsetshire labourers.

[1] See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 175.

[2] Two of the men were Methodist preachers; and the whole six were a little better informed than the ordinary labourer. *Hansard*, vol. xxii. p. 942.

set out in the law, and sentenced them to seven years' transportation. The ministers, foreseeing the clamour which the sentence would occasion, hurried the prisoners to the hulks, and despatched them at once to Australia. Such precipitancy was unusual; and of course increased the outcry which the Government had desired to avoid.[1]

It was not long before the ministry understood the strength of the feeling which it had aroused. Petitions were presented from Oxford, from Cheltenham, from Hull, from Leeds, from Newcastle, from Dundee, from Belfast, and other places, complaining of the sentences on ignorant men. The six obscure labourers became the heroes of the hour; and the ministry was severely blamed for carrying out the sentence upon them.[2] The Trades' Unions of London decided on organising a monster demonstration in behalf of the six convicts. It was proposed that the working-men of the metropolis should assemble in their thousands; should march upon the Home Office, and present themselves to the Home Secretary as a deputation demanding the recall of the labourers from Australia. The demonstration took place. Some twenty to thirty thousand working-men assembled, on the 21st of April, in the fields which at that time surrounded White Conduit House, and moved on Whitehall. Every precaution had been taken by the authorities to ensure the peaceable progress of the procession. Melbourne quietly refused to receive a deputation which had assumed the aspect of a demonstration; and the unionists were persuaded to leave the Home Office and pass on to Newington. There they were told that the Home Secretary, on the following day, would receive a small deputation. Satisfied with this assurance, they dispersed in peace; and a demonstration, which had been awaited with alarm, terminated without producing disorder.[3]

The demonstration in their favour.

Old-fashioned Tories, however, who had recollected the Six Acts, were not satisfied with the peaceable termination

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxii. p. 947; and cf. *Melbourne*, vol. i. p. 435.
[2] *Hansard*, vol. xxii. pp. 725, 733, 860, 938; and vol. xxiii. pp. 114, 312.
[3] *Melbourne*, vol. i. p. 439. *Ann. Reg.*, 1834, Chron., p. 58.

of a formidable demonstration. Eldon repeated in the House of Lords the opinion which he had given to the Cabinet in 1819, and declared that meetings were illegal, and ought to be put down. Even Brougham endorsed Eldon's opinion,[1] and indulged in a reckless and unnecessary attack on the unionists. Fortunately for the cause of peace, the Cabinet had the good sense to disregard the views of Eldon, and to act in opposition to the opinions of Brougham. In consequence a demonstration which, if it had been opposed, would have led to bloodshed, produced no inconvenience beyond a temporary interruption of the London street traffic. The wretched labourers were taken to New South Wales. Two years afterwards the Crown was advised to grant them a free pardon, and thus allow their return home.[2]

The practical victory of the trades had afforded a decisive proof of the power of the unionists; but neither the unionists nor their victory had raised the great mass of the labouring poor from the position of abject dependence into which they had fallen. For years, however, their wrongs had been continually exciting attention; and, in the course of 1832, the ministry had consented to appoint a commission to inquire into the Poor Laws.[3] Blomfield, Bishop of London, was chairman of the commission; Sumner, Bishop of Chester, who afterwards was raised to the Primacy; Sturges Bourne, who had been Home Secretary under Canning; Nassau Senior, and five other gentlemen, were upon it. The commissioners were empowered to appoint assistant-commissioners; to despatch them into every part of the country, and thus obtain a thorough account of the working of the poor law in all parts of England and Wales. The assistant-commissioners commenced their inquiries in August 1832; their reports were received in January 1833; and the commissioners themselves then commenced to collate and to print the mass of information which they had thus succeeded in obtaining. Such wealth of matter had never

The Poor Law Commission.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxiii. pp. 95-103. [2] Ibid., vol. xxxii. p. 253.
[3] Ibid., vol. x. p. 723.

been collected by any previous commission. Months were occupied with the mere mechanical work of publication, and the commissioners' report was not, in consequence, ready before the commencement of 1834.

Pauperism was an evil in urgent need of a remedy. Injudicious arrangements had made nearly every poor man a pauper, and real property was crushed with the heavy and increasing burden of supporting the people. Up to the close of the eighteenth century the burden of pauperism increased only slowly. The spirit of the old law of Elizabeth was respected by the local authorities: the idle person was set to work, or forced into the poorhouse; and pauperism was regarded as a disgrace by the labouring population. An Act of 1796, which sanctioned the relief of the poor in their own houses, rapidly changed this condition of things. Local officers, with little knowledge and less experience, thought it a wiser thing to supplement the scanty earnings of a poor man with a miserable dole than to make the relief which they afforded him complete. Only one consequence could result from such a policy. Every employer of labour could choose between a workman solely dependent on his wages and a pauper whose smaller wages were supplemented by the parish. Most employers under such circumstances naturally preferred the pauper; and the independent labourer could only obtain employment on the terms which were accepted by the pauper. These terms were, of course, insufficient for his support. He had, in his turn, no alternative but to become a pauper. Whole parishes were thus pauperised in an incredibly short period, and independent labour became almost unknown.

Abuses of the old Poor Law.

Relief was given in various ways in different places. In many parishes a special scale was fixed by the authorities.[1] An initial sum was paid to each single man. A married man received an additional dole for his wife, and an extra sum for every child. This remarkable system was adopted in the majority of parishes. In others relief was given in kind. In

[1] Poor Law Report, Parliamentary Papers, Session 1834, vol. xxvii. p. 13.

many the rent of the working-man was paid as a matter of course;[1] while orders were frequently given on the local tradesmen for food or clothes to the poor. The office of overseer thus became a desirable prize to little tradesmen. Though no salary attached to it, it was eagerly sought after; and the tradesmen who successively held it accommodated each other by giving orders on all the village shops in turn.[2]

An overseer could hardly be expected to take any very vigorous measures to repress pauperism. But even a well-meaning overseer had little power in the matter. Any pauper who was dissatisfied with him could appeal to a magistrate. He was not even required to take his case before a magistrate of the neighbourhood. He could select the most benevolent fool who happened to be a justice of the peace in the county. Rural justices, whose hearts happened to be better than their heads, could thus at any moment check the best-intentioned efforts for the repression of pauperism. Even in London one of the magistrates at Worship Street acted on the notion that every able-bodied man was entitled to sixpence a day, unless the overseer could show cause to the contrary.[3]

Its consequences to the poor.

Such was the system which, in a single generation, had degraded a race of free men into a race of paupers, and blunted the better feelings of an unhappy people. The poor man declined to support his father in his old age or his child in its infancy.[4] That office was the duty of the parish. The mother refused to nurse her daughter; the daughter objected to nurse her mother in illness unless her services were paid by the parish.[5] A working-man in Cambridgeshire, whose wife was in prison for theft, complained that he had no one to tend his house and children: the magistrates admitted the claim, and ordered him 11*s.* a week for the purpose from the parish.[6] In every other class of life a prudent man avoided marriage

[1] Poor Law Report, Parliamentary Papers, Session 1834, vol. xxvii. p. 9.
[2] Ibid., p. 56–58.
[3] Ibid., pp. 74, 82.
[4] Ibid., p. 25.
[5] Ibid., p. 54.
[6] Ibid., p. 33.

till he could afford it. The poor man was bribed to marry by the parish. Unhappily, the parish bribe encouraged him to select the most depraved of the village beauties. A girl usually received 2*s.* a week for each illegitimate child either from the reputed father or from the parish. A girl with three or four illegitimate children had, therefore, a small fortune, and was eagerly sought after. It was, of course, in such circumstances no disgrace for a girl to have borne a child; on the contrary, profligate conduct on her part was the certain precursor of her social advancement. Any single woman who expected a child might charge any man she chose to fix upon as the father of it. Unless he gave security the justices might commit him to gaol until after the child was born. A poor labouring man was not likely to be able to offer security. In his own defence, therefore, every labouring man was almost compelled to marry the first strumpet who had the hardihood to father on him her expected child.[1]

The system destroyed all the better feelings of human nature. The Poor Laws practically declared that "the children shall not suffer for the misconduct of their parents, the wife for that of the husband, or the husband for that of the wife; that no one shall lose the means of comfortable subsistence, whatever be his indolence, prodigality, or vice."[2] The poor, however, were not the only sufferers from the vicious system. The property of the kingdom was weighted with the burden of their support, and the landed classes sank under the constantly increasing load. In a few places, indeed, landlords, whose worldly wisdom was not tempered with any considerations of humanity, threw down the cottages on their estates and forced the occupants into the adjacent parishes.[3] The ordinary landlord was, fortunately, too humane to adopt so cruel a remedy. Instead of it he submitted to his inevitable lot, and let his land at a lower rent, or failed to let it at all. Hundreds of farms were tenant-

Its consequences to the rich.

[1] Poor Law Report, p. 93.

[2] Ibid., p. 34.

[3] See ibid., p. 88; and cf. Lord Marney's speech, in *Sybil:* "I build no cottages, and I destroy all I can; and I am not ashamed or afraid to say so." Book ii, chap. xii.

less because no possible reduction of rent could induce the occupier to incur the charge of the poor-rate. In one parish in Buckinghamshire the rates had risen from £10, 11*s.* in 1801 to £367 in 1832. The landlord of the parish had given up his rents; the tenants had given up their farms; the clergyman had given up his glebe and his tithe. It was seriously proposed to parcel out all the land in the parish among the paupers, and to support them, till they could support themselves, out of rates levied on the neighbouring villages.[1]

Every cloud has a silver lining. Even the cloud of pauperism which overshadowed England in 1832 was relieved by a few faint traces of a brighter side. Here and there some country gentlemen had detected the causes of the poverty which was pauperising the population, and had proved themselves both wise enough and courageous enough to apply the necessary remedy to the disease. Pauperism, these reformers clearly saw, could only be cured by depauperising the population: the population could only be depauperised by a rigorous refusal of out-relief. Some of these wise men insisted on the erection of suitable workhouses, in which the poor could be relieved and set to work; others of them refused all relief in aid of wages. A few of them not merely discontinued the practice of paying the labourer's rent, but actually rated his little cottage.[2] In every case the result of these reforms was the same: pauperism at once decreased, the wages of honest labour rose, the rates fell, and the village was better off. Here and there the commissioners, in their inquiries, came upon villages thus regulated, which seemed like fortunate oases in the almost universal desert of distress. Their example proved that pauperism was not inevitable, and that a mean was possible between the savage legislation of the Tudors[3] and the foolish system of the nineteenth century.

Its remedy.

[1] The parish alluded to is Cholesbury. There were 139 people in it—104 paupers, and two public-houses. Poor Law Report, p. 49.

[2] Ibid., pp. 132–143.

[3] The 27th Henry VIII. c. 25 required the sturdy beggar to be whipped for a first offence; to have his right ear cropped for the second offence; and to be imprisoned, tried, and, if convicted, to suffer death as the enemy of the com-

It was, in fact, impossible to ignore the lesson which was thus impressed on the nation. North, east, west, and south a vast load of pauperism was fettering the industrial capacities of the people, while here and there in a solitary parish a happier state of things was visible. No commission could avoid desiring to extend the system of the depauperised parishes to the rest of the country. The commissioners, in consequence, recommended that, after a given date, no out-relief, except medical aid in sickness, should be given to any able-bodied man.[1] In addition to this recommendation they had the courage to propose that the mother should be compelled to support her illegitimate child,[2] and that all settlement, except settlement by birth and marriage, should be abolished.[3] They thought it necessary, in order to carry out the law, to institute a central board, entrusted with great and unprecedented powers of taxation and administration. The board was to be at liberty, for instance, to unite parishes in unions; to insist on uniformity in accounts; to dismiss incompetent officials; and generally to supervise the whole system.[4] Such powers had never previously been granted by Parliament to any public department.

In 1834 the king specially directed the attention of Parliament to the subject of the Poor Laws in the Speech from

monwealth, for the third offence. Sentiments of "foolish pity and mercy," as Parliament was pleased to term them, made this atrocious law a dead letter. So the 1st Edward VI. ordered the idle and vagabond to be branded with a V, and to be adjudged a slave for two years. If he ran away he was to be branded with an S, and to be a slave for life. If he ran away again he was to suffer death. Report, pp. 4, 5.

[1] Ibid., p. 146. [2] Ibid., p. 196.

[3] It is a remark of Whately's (*Life*, vol. i. p. 214), that the law of settlement—one of the devices which the rich have used for crushing the poor—is as old as the Son of Sirach—"The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity and leisure; and he that hath little business shall become wise." But as for the ploughman, the carpenter, the smith and the potter—"Without these cannot a city be inhabited: *and they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down.* They shall not . . . sit high in the congregation . . . But they will maintain the state of the world, and all their desire is in the work of their craft."—Ecclus. xxxviii. 24–34. These texts perhaps throw as much light on the true history of the Jewish nation as the account of sacerdotalism and tyranny embodied in the four books of Kings.

[4] Report, pp. 171–188.

the Throne;[1] and on the 17th of April Althorp introduced a bill to give effect to the recommendations of the commissioners. His speech was received with a chorus of approval.[2] Its reception outside the House, however, was very different. Charitable people were shocked at the notion of withdrawing the doles which had been hitherto meted out to the poor; politicians were frightened at the unpopularity of doing so; and the Radicals complained that a bill, essentially favourable to the rights of property and injurious to the labouring poor, should have been introduced by a Whig Administration. These various causes of dissatisfaction produced their effect. On the 9th of May, De Lacy Evans, the member for Westminster, made a violent attack on the principles of the measure, and declared that "the cessation of outdoor relief would lead to a revolution in the country."[3] His fears were endorsed by the representatives of other large constituencies; but their speeches did not affect the division. The report of the commissioners had done its work. One of the ablest members of the House, the Radical member for a populous metropolitan borough, ventured on disregarding the wishes of his constituents, and delivered a warm and admirable speech in defence of the bill. His support weakened the Radical attack upon the measure. The House almost unanimously decided to read the bill a second time, and to reserve their arguments for its amendment till it was in committee. Evans was able to secure only 20 votes against 319 members who supported the ministry.[4]

The new Poor Law.

During the last week of May and the greater part of June the House of Commons was constantly occupied in debating the details of the measure. The extreme men on both sides inveighed against the Poor Man Robbery Bill, as it was nicknamed by Cobbett.[5] But the moderate men of both parties had the good sense to see the advantages which would result from the measure, and to support the Government which had

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 2.
[2] Ibid., vol. xxii. pp. 889–898.
[3] Ibid., vol. xxiii. p. 806.
[4] Ibid., p. 842.
[5] Ibid., vol. xxiv. p. 388.

the honesty to court unpopularity by proposing it. Thus supported the measure made steady progress, and passed the House of Commons on the 1st of July. On the 21st of July its second reading was carried by a large majority in the Lords.[1] Some slight alterations were afterwards introduced into it. The House of Commons, on Althorp's advice, accepted these amendments, and the bill became law.[2]

Its effects.

The effects of the measure were seen almost instantaneously. The cost of relief steadily decreased, and the burden of supporting the poor, which had exceeded £7,000,000 in 1832, was only slightly over £4,000,000 in 1837. A reform, indeed, of so vast a character, suddenly introduced into every parish in England, could not but be attended with some inconveniences; and extreme politicians did not hesitate to denounce a measure which had, as they thought, inflicted an injustice on the poor. The effect of their denunciations will be seen later on in this history. In 1834 they were hardly worth observing. The good sense of Althorp and the wise behaviour of Peel in one House, and Wellington in the other, had ensured the passage of the Poor Bill; and moderate men could afford to disregard the clamours of politicians like Cobbett, whose influence had already waned, or of young men like Disraeli, whose opportunity had not arrived.

But the time was already come when the great Whig Ministry which had carried the Reform Act was in urgent need of support. Before the new Poor Law had passed the House of Commons the Cabinet had become weakened by

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxv. p. 275.

[2] For the amendments see ibid., p. 1210. The most important of the amendments related to the bastardy clauses. As the bill was originally drawn the bastardy laws were entirely done away with. Great clamour was excited by the circumstance, and the Government accepted an amendment which enabled an order to be made in certain cases on the putative father to recompense the parish for any relief given to the child. The House of Lords modified this clause: declared that the order should be only obtained at Quarter Sessions, and that evidence besides that of the mother should be required. A large party in the Lords wished to throw the support of the illegitimate child on the father. Cf. ibid., pp. 586, 1096. The Poor Law is the 4th & 5th William IV. c. 76. The present bastardy law is regulated by the 7th & 8th Victoria, c. 101, and 8th and 9th Victoria, c. 10.

the defection of some of its members; before it had become law it had lost its chief. Its great services already forgotten, its present weakness alone recollected, it was unable to command the services of the numerous body of its supporters or to secure the respect of its opponents. From the commencement of its career Ireland had been its difficulty. Ireland was the immediate cause of its downfall. The promotion of Stanley to the Colonial Office had not pacified O'Connell, and the session of 1833 had closed amidst the angry murmurings of Irish members. Immediately after the commencement of the recess Anglesey resigned the Viceroyalty. The wretched health which he had endured for years justified and accounted for his resignation. Grey desired that Melbourne, who had already filled the office of Chief Secretary, should succeed Anglesey. Melbourne naturally rejected an office which would have removed him from his friends in London and from his post in the Cabinet. Grey, in consequence, had to fall back on Lord Wellesley. It was certain that O'Connell's friends would be disposed to regard the appointment with some favour.

Ireland.

Wellesley's appointment did not pacify the Irish. Throughout the whole of the autumn of 1833 O'Connell everywhere declared that nothing but an independent Parliament in College Green would satisfy Ireland. These declarations were so notorious that the King, at the commencement of 1834, was advised to refer to them in his Speech from the Throne. "I have seen," he was made to say, "with feelings of deep regret and just indignation the continuance of attempts to excite the people of Ireland to demand a repeal of the Legislative Union. This bond of our national strength and safety I have already declared my fixed and unalterable resolution, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to maintain inviolate by all the means in my power."[1] These words naturally irritated O'Connell and the Repealers. "Are the ministers," asked Grattan, 'aware of what is said when they make the king declare

Lord Wellesley succeeds Lord Anglesey.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 4.

that his Irish subjects have drawn down upon themselves his 'just indignation'—that our royal master is indignant with his people, and that his anger is not only great but 'just ? . . . . May I ask, with due submission, whether the crying distress of his Irish subjects has excited his just indignation ? . . . Has the complaint of want of employment, want of trade, want of manufactures (a state which an Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer declared was that of 'a beggared gentry and a ruined peasantry'), has this state of things excited the just indignation of his Majesty? Is the king never angry but when the Irish seek for liberty and employment; and is he satisfied or silent when they starve for want of bread?" O'Connell, following up Grattan's declamation, moved the omission from the Address of the words which re-echoed the offensive paragraph. He was beaten by a decisive majority;[1] but his amendment afforded the Irish members a fresh opportunity for assailing the Irish policy of the Whig Ministry.

Discontent of the Irish.

These attacks consumed the greater portion of the first night of the session. On the following evening another subject afforded fresh proof of the irritation of the Irish members. In the course of the recess Hill, the member for Hull, in a speech to his constituents, had declared "that an Irish member, who spoke with great violence against" the Coercion Bill, had secretly urged the ministers to force it through in its integrity. O'Connell asked Althorp whether he or any other member of the Government had ever stated that an Irish member had acted in the manner described. Althorp gave a flat denial to the allegation. No Irish member who voted against the Coercion Bill had made the statement in question to a Cabinet minister; but—so he added—"he should not act properly if he did not declare that he had good reason to believe that some Irish members (certainly more than one) who voted and spoke with considerable violence against the bill did in private conversation use very different language."

Hill's speech at Hull.

[1] By 189 votes to 23. *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 108; and cf., for Grattan's Speech, ibid., pp. 77, 78.

Althorp unnecessarily had repeated Hill's attack on the character of the Irish members. At O'Connell's suggestion they rose, one after another, to inquire whether they were the members alluded to.[1] The Speaker in vain attempted to stop the proceedings. O'Connell insisted on clearing the character of his friends. At last Althorp admitted that Sheil was one of the members to whom he had referred. Sheil, in the face of his country and in the presence of his God, declared that it was a gross and scandalous calumny. The expression made every one grave. Hill, whose speech at Hull had been the original cause of the dispute, apologised to the House for all the trouble which he had unintentionally caused it. The Speaker suggested that the parties to the dispute should pledge themselves to leave the matter to the House. Burdett moved that both Althorp and Sheil should be put under restraint;[2] and both members were actually taken into the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms.[3] Such a dilemma had, perhaps, never previously occurred in the House of Commons. Althorp, however, was persuaded by his friends to submit to the authority of the House. Sheil was induced to imitate Althorp's example; and the House, liberating both members from custody,[4] proceeded to appoint a committee to inquire into the merits of the dispute. Evidence was given that, some months before, Sheil, while dining at the Athenæum, had entered into conversation with other members of the club upon the subject of the Coercion Bill. One of them, Mr. John Wood, had repeated the substance of Sheil's remarks to Althorp; but he told the committee that he had attached no importance to them. Macaulay, who had happened to be present on another occasion, very properly refused to tell the committee anything at all. The committee, in consequence, had nothing before it but Wood's account of Sheil's conversation. Hill, finding that he had no evidence to support his story, declared that the charge which he had brought, "in a hasty and unpremeditated speech," was "totally and

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 122.
[2] Ibid., p. 132.
[3] Ibid., p. 146.
[4] Ibid., p. 149.

absolutely unfounded." The committee, glad to escape from an unpleasant duty, reported their gratification to the House. Althorp made a halting apology to Shiel; and an affair which ought never to have occurred at all was allowed to terminate.[1]

The irritation of the Irish members was increased by the conduct of a more prominent individual than Hill. In December 1833, Smith, one of the Barons of the Irish Court of Exchequer, was appointed to preside at the Commission Court in Dublin. Smith was the oldest of the Irish judges.[2] His age hardly excused his eccentricities. He rarely came into court till half-past three o'clock.[3] He occasionally sat trying prisoners all through the night on capital charges.[4] The judge's habits, however, formed only a portion of the charge against him. The Irish complained that, in his charge to the Grand Jury in December 1833, he had delivered an elaborate argument against the conduct of his fellow-countrymen. He had, in fact, taken credit to himself for exposing their "factious leaders." "I sounded the tocsin, and pointed out the ambuscade. . . . Two years ago I very unequivocally pronounced that tithe resistance was but one of three Cerberean heads, of which rent and tax resistance formed the other two; that law, property, and the Constitution were, in fact, what this triple monster bayed, and would, if placed within its reach, devour; but that a force less than herculean, if applied with firmness and in time, would drag him into light and tame him into submission."[5] If Smith had lived forty years later it would probably have been replied that the three Cerberean heads bayed under the three branches of

Baron Smith.

[1] The report of the committee (which is printed in *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 397) is in Parliamentary Paper, Session 1834, No. 51. The evidence is not published. But for Wood's evidence see Sir H. Hardinge's speech in *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 411. For Macaulay's, Trevelyan's *Macaulay*, vol. i. p. 358; and *Greville*, vol. iii. p. 58. Sheil's biographer—MacNevin—is naturally jubilant at Sheil's acquittal. But no reasonable man can doubt that Sheil, both at the Athenæum and at Brooks's, must have said a great many things which in his position he ought to have left unsaid. Miss Hill has no new information on the subject. See *Life of M. D. Hill*, pp. 127–130.

[2] *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 301.

[3] Ibid., p. 276.

[4] Ibid., p. 302.

[5] Ibid., p. 278.

the upas-tree. His confused metaphors, which must have been unintelligible to an audience accustomed to O'Connell's simple diction, might have been safely left unheeded. But O'Connell was naturally angry with a judge who expounded politics from the Bench, and gave notice of an address to the Crown for the removal of the Baron. Ministers sent a private message to Smith that they would oppose the address, and no one thought much more of the matter. At the last moment, however, O'Connell changed his tactics and asked for a select committee of inquiry. Littleton, who had succeeded Hobhouse as Irish Secretary, and Althorp, taken by surprise, hurriedly consented to support O'Connell, and the inquiry was agreed to by a large majority.[1] But the debate irretrievably damaged the Government. Graham, coming into the House, refused to adopt the decision of his colleagues, and both spoke and voted against them.[2] Spring Rice, the Secretary to the Treasury, whose opinions, as the only Irish member of the ministry, were of special importance, gave a silent vote against them; and Knatchbull gave notice of a motion to reverse the vote. Eight days afterwards Knatchbull's motion was carried, and Smith was spared the ordeal of a damaging inquiry.[3]

The ministers had not only sustained a defeat, they had also displayed their internal dissensions to Parliament. A great effort was obviously necessary to erase the recollection of these events. O'Connell had hitherto refrained from reproducing in Parliament the arguments which he had used out of doors for the repeal of the Union. His own pledges and the King's Speech compelled him to do so in 1834. He accordingly gave notice that he would ask on the 22nd of April for a select committee to report upon the means by which the Union had been carried, upon its effects on Ireland, and upon its probable consequences. The inquiry was, therefore, to deal with the past, the present, and the future.[4] For thirty-three years Parliament had been

O'Connell's motion for inquiry into the Union,

[1] *Greville*, vol. iii. p. 59. The motion was carried by 167 votes to 74. *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 350.
[2] *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 334.
[3] Ibid., p. 752. The motion was reversed by 161 votes to 155.
[4] Ibid., vol. xxii. p. 1158.

perpetually investigating every possible branch of the Irish question. Sixty select committees and 114 commissions had been appointed on matters relating to Ireland.[1] Every phase of the Irish question had been placed in every possible light before successive committees and commissions. The bogs that were undrained, the roads that required repair, the fisheries which were undeveloped, the currency which was degraded, the schools that were abused, the manufactures that were neglected—these and kindred subjects had over and over again formed the subject of investigation. What could be easier than to add one more committee to the numerous inquiries which had already taken place?

These considerations had not much weight with the majority of the House. Every member who voted with O'Connell saw plainly enough that he was voting for Repeal. Every member who voted against him saw equally clearly that he was maintaining the Union. On such a subject as this every politician had long since made up his mind. Yet the House went on debating O'Connell's motion for six nights. O'Connell occupied a whole night with his introductory speech. Spring Rice occupied a whole night in replying to him. Fortunately for the patience of the assembly, Spring Rice and O'Connell had exhausted the subject; and the other speakers, though they occupied four more nights with their arguments, did not take up so much time. After the conclusion of the sixth night the House rejected O'Connell's motion by 523 votes to 38. No less than fifty-seven Irish members voted in the majority.[2]

which is rejected.

Such a division naturally destroyed the hopes of the Repealers. O'Connell had been unable to secure a majority of Irish members; and he could not plead that the selfish inte-

[1] See the list in *Hansard*, vol. xxii. p. 1204.

[2] Ibid., vol. xxiii. pp. 286, 287. It ought, perhaps, to be added that Spring Rice, after the rejection of O'Connell's motion, moved an address to the Crown expressing a determination to maintain the Union inviolate. This address was carried in the Commons, and subsequently agreed to at a conference between the two Houses of Parliament. For the address see ibid., p. 291; for the conference, ibid., p. 294; for the Lord's debate, ibid., p. 295; for the king's answer, ibid., p. 367.

rests of Great Britain were interfering with the desires of Ireland. The division, however, afforded little relief to the ministry. Ireland was still unpacified; the measures which had been taken in previous years had not satisfied the people; and the statesmen who were responsible for her government were busily devising fresh measures of relief. Stanley's Act for the compulsory composition of tithes had proved no more satisfactory than Goulburn's Voluntary Tithe Composition Act. Both measures had done something to remedy the grievance of the Irish cottiers. But it was with the composition as it had been with the tithe. The composition had to be collected from the small Roman Catholic farmer for the support of a Church whose faith he did not share. The cottier refused to pay his tithe; the Protestant clergyman failed to enforce it; and all the tithe-proctors in Ireland and all the troops at the disposal of the Government proved powerless to collect it. In 1833, the tithes in arrear amounted to £1,200,000. Littleton, soon after entering the Irish office, persuaded the ministry to ask Parliament to grant a sum of £1,000,000 to be paid to the tithe-owners on the security of these arrears, which the Irish Government was to be empowered to collect. The proposal naturally excited a good deal of opposition. Introduced, however, in a weary House, towards the close of a long session, it was suffered to pass, and the Irish Government became tithe-proctor for the whole of Ireland.[1]

Irish tithes.

Littleton's Tithe Bill.

A grant of this character conclusively proved the defects of the existing system. When Government felt itself compelled to defray the tithes of the Church out of the revenues of the State some alteration was obviously necessary. The only alteration, which would have been tolerable to the Repealers, was the unconditional abolition of tithes. The only alteration which could be proposed by a Government of which Stanley was a member must have proceeded on the assumption that the tithe should be preserved. It was, in short, impossible to devise any measure which would at

[1] See *Hansard*, vol. xx. pp. 341, 345, 560, 820, 884.

once satisfy O'Connell and be acceptable to Stanley. All that Littleton dared to do was to push the principle which Stanley had laid down in 1832 a little farther. In 1832 Stanley had endeavoured to transfer the obligation of paying tithe from the cottier tenant to the last lessor.[1] The scheme had done a great deal to free the tithe-owners from the necessity of extracting the tithes from the poorest cottiers. In 66 parishes, in which inquiries were made for the purpose of ascertaining its effect, it was found that the number of tithe-payers had been reduced by more than one-half.[2] In 903 parishes the number had been reduced by considerably more than one-third.[3] Littleton desired, after the 1st of the following November, to commute the tithe into a land-tax, payable to the State, to reduce its amount by one-fifth, to allow the landlord to redeem the tax after five years had expired. If the tax were not redeemed in five years it was to become a rent charge redeemable on easy terms.[4] The scheme was not received with much favour. Tories like Inglis feared that it would have the effect of diminishing the resources of the Irish Church.[5] O'Connell saw plainly enough that the tax was only another name for the tithe, and that the scheme was the grossest of delusions, the "most excellent humbug."[6] It was at once evident that Littleton's bill—whatever other effect it might have—would not have the effect of satisfying the Irish.

Stanley had only reluctantly assented to this mild and inoffensive measure.[7] His assent did not improve the position of the Government. Many of the ministers almost openly declared that the Cabinet was on the brink of dissolution,[8] and the differences which were supposed to exist among its members were the subject of common discussion. While these rumours were still rife Littleton, on the 2nd of May, asked the House of Commons to read the Tithe Bill a second

[1] See *ante*, p. 349. [2] From 16,231 to 7047. *Hansard*, vol. xxi. p. 580.
[3] From 346,000 to 214,000. Ibid., vol. xxvii. p. 16.
[4] Ibid., p. 591. [5] Ibid., p. 621.
[6] Ibid., p. 594. [7] See Lord Hatherton's Memoir, p. 7.
[8] See Brougham's memo: on the situation in *Brougham*, vol. iii. p. 357.

time. The motion gave rise to an angry debate, which was ultimately adjourned till the 6th of May. That evening was long remembered by the principal actors. The debate was in the first instance interrupted by a motion of O'Connell for counting the House. The House was counted. One hundred and eighteen members were present; and Ronayne, an Irish member, complained that they could not muster "more than one hundred" members on a question of the utmost importance to Ireland. Stanley, who was at any rate one of the hundred, smiled at the vehemence of Ronayne's language; and Ronayne, turning upon him, declared that he was "too well accustomed to the insolence" of the Right Honourable gentleman to be annoyed by it.[1] Stanley, more amused than angry, declared that he had only smiled at the plan which had been so palpably preconcerted between Ronayne and O'Connell, and with much point and wit implied that, of the five O'Connells in the House, only one had been present among the one hundred and eighteen. O'Connell retorted on Stanley for "his usual disregard of veracity," and was called to order by the Speaker. The angry scene was at last terminated by the resumption of the debate on the Tithe Bill.

Heat had characterised the commencement of the sitting. Nothing but heat could be expected in the debate. Yet the whole tone of it was changed by a speech from O'Connell. Every trace of passion had passed from him when he rose. He even ventured to express his "deep, deep regret" at the irritability which he had displayed at the commencement of the evening.[2] He was ready[3] to cast from his heart every feeling of anger, hostility, and vexation, and with all possible calmness, and, if necessary, with the bated breath and whispering humbleness of a beggar, to offer his best suggestions as to the description of bill which was most likely to give general satisfaction to the Irish people. He

O'Connell's speech.

1 "The Right Honourable gentleman might smile contemptuously as much as he pleased; he might throw his legs upon the table like a man in a North American coffee-house." *Hansard*, vol. xxiii. p. 624.

2 Ibid., p. 653.

3 Ibid., p. 650.

admitted that the Irish had been wrong: he pleaded the centuries of misrule from which they had suffered as their excuse:

> "Be to her faults a little blind,
> Be to her virtues ever kind."

The effect of the speech was all the greater from the unexpected nature of its language. In Ireland the great Dictator, as he was commonly styled, was severely blamed for his unusual moderation. In England his influence was suddenly raised to a point which it had never previously attained. Stanley, though answering his arguments, was touched by his language, and expressed over and over again his gratification at the tone and temper which O'Connell had exhibited, and which would add still greater distinction to his parliamentary career than any which he had yet acquired.[1] Peace seemed after all to be possible when O'Connell held the olive-branch to the Government, and Stanley returned the palm to O'Connell.

Surprises, however, were to be the rule of the evening. If Stanley, in his reply to O'Connell, had been unusually conciliatory in his language, he had not receded from any of his opinions. Some of the Cabinet thought that the speech—if it were suffered to stand alone—would pledge the Government to maintain the revenues of the Irish Church undiminished.

Russell "upsets the coach."

One of them, Russell, was determined to be no party to such a pledge. He had, in previous years, publicly expressed his opinion that the revenues of the Irish Church were too large: he had, with difficulty, been dissuaded from resigning office when Stanley's Tithe Bill of 1833 was adopted by the Cabinet; and a visit, which he had subsequently paid to Ireland, had given him an increased knowledge of the difficulties which were distracting the country. Later in the evening, therefore, he took occasion to repeat his opinion that "the revenues of the Church of Ireland were larger than necessary for the religious and moral instruction of the persons belonging to that Church." He

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxiii. p. 659.

went on to say that "when Parliament had vindicated the property to tithes, he should be prepared to assert his opinion with regard to their appropriation;" and he added that, at whatever cost and sacrifice, "he should do what he considered his bounden duty, namely, to do justice to Ireland."[1] The declaration was, of course, received with cheers from Radicals and Repealers. One member declared that "it would pour more oil into the wounds of Ireland than any speech that had been made in that House."[2] It was not, at any rate, likely to pour oil into the wounds of a suffering Cabinet. Stanley expressed his sense of it by a laconic note to Graham: "Johnny has upset the coach."[3]

A slight attempt was, indeed, made to avert the catastrophe which was threatening the ministry. Littleton took upon himself to declare that all the members of the Government concurred in thinking that the realisation of the revenues of the Church was the first point for consideration, and that their appropriation might be reserved for subsequent discussion. Sheil immediately asked him whether he meant to censure the Paymaster of the Forces. Althorp admitted the differences which existed in the Cabinet, and substantially supported Littleton.[4] The House, instead of debating the bill, continued to discuss the dissensions in the ministry, and separated in some confusion. The rumours which had been already circulated acquired consistency, and politicians speculated almost openly on the secession of some of the more prominent members of the Cabinet.[5] Among the new members of the House of Commons was Henry Ward, the son of Plumer Ward. The father is still remembered for the Diary which he kept during the earlier years of the century, and for the rather heavy novels, of which "Tremaine" was the most popular, which obtained a wide circulation more than fifty years ago. The son is recollected as a successful administrator in the Ionian Islands and in Ceylon. Ward had

Dissensions in the Cabinet.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxiii. p. 666. [2] Ibid., p. 667; and cf. p. 668.
[3] See Russell's own account, in *Recollections and Suggestions*, p. 120.
[4] *Hansard*, vol. xxiii. p. 674. [5] *Greville*, vol. iii. p. 82.

formed a strong opinion that the revenues of the Irish Church exceeded the requirements of the Protestant Establishment, and that the surplus ought to be applied to other purposes by Parliament. He decided on proposing a resolution embodying this opinion. The resolution was fixed for the 27th of May, and at once brought the differences which were distracting the Government to a decisive issue.[1]

Ward's "appropriation" resolution.

Interested persons, indeed, still hoped to heal the wounds which were destroying the administration. Brougham endeavoured to find some common ground of agreement by proposing the appointment of a commission to inquire into the revenues of the Irish Church and the proportion which her members bore to the population of Ireland.[2] Stanley saw plainly enough that the issue of such a commission must eventually lead to the partial disendowment of the Church, and refused to agree to it. Graham, Ripon, and Richmond shared his fears, and supplemented his resignation with their own. Yet nothing was actually settled till the eve of Ward's motion. Althorp himself was not aware of his colleagues' resignation until after the dissension had begun. He rose at once to ask the House to suspend the debate,[3] and the members separated to discuss the possibilities of the situation and the probable fall of the ministry. Its immediate downfall seemed, indeed, almost certain. Grey himself, notwithstanding the energetic advice of Brougham,[4] was anxious to retire;[5] and Althorp felt his authority slipping from him,[6] and longed to escape from the

Stanley, Graham, Richmond, and Ripon resign.

[1] Palmerston, writing to his brother (*Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 197) says that Ward's motion was planned and directed by Durham. Greville (vol. iii. p. 87) says that the violent party wished the Government to be reinforced with Durham, Mulgrave, "and that sort of thing." Le Marchant (*Spencer*, p. 487) declares that Mulgrave was opposed to the motion.

[2] *Resolutions and Suggestions*, p. 122.

[3] *Hansard*, vol. xxiii. p. 1400. Mrs. Grote says that Ward's speech as reported at full length was not delivered. *Personal Life of Grote*, p. 90.

[4] "As to *not* going on after all that has passed, it is absolutely ridiculous." *Brougham*, vol. iii. p. 372.

[5] *Stockmar*, vol. i. p. 324.

[6] He had been beaten, early in the session, on a proposal relating to the powers to be granted to the London and Westminster Bank. Althorp thought

anxieties of his position. Nor was it an easy matter to fill up the vacancies which had occurred in the Cabinet. In 1832 hardly a constituency would support a member of the Opposition. In 1834 hardly a constituency would return a member of the Government. "The ministers," said a close observer, "will be forced to put peers in the vacant places, because nobody can get re-elected."[1]

Reconstruction of the ministry.

In three of the four situations which had become vacant these anticipations were fulfilled. Lord Conyngham succeeded the Duke of Richmond at the Post Office; Lord Auckland replaced Graham at the Admiralty; Lord Carlisle, who had held a seat in the Cabinet without office, became Privy Seal; Spring Rice, who had been Secretary of the Treasury for some years, and had gradually acquired distinction as a debater, was selected to succeed Stanley at the Colonial Office. Abercromby was made Master of the Mint; Poulett Thomson, President of the Board of Trade; and Francis Baring, who had been a Lord of the Treasury since 1832, succeeded Spring Rice as Secretary to the Board; Edward Ellice, who had been Secretary at War since Hobhouse's promotion to the Irish office, was at the same time admitted to the Cabinet.[2]

A few persons (with whom the wish was, probably, father to the thought) imagined that the ministry would derive fresh vitality from these alterations. Divided counsels, they argued, had previously been a source of weakness: unanimity would produce consistency and strength. And in one respect Stanley's

the measure a breach of faith with the Bank of England, but was beaten by 141 votes to 35. *Hansard*, vol. xxiii. p. 694. He endeavoured to reverse the decision on the 26th of May, "imploring everybody to come and support him" (*Greville*, vol. iii. p. 87); but he was again beaten by 137 votes to 76. *Hansard*, vol. xxiii. p. 1320. Cf. *Eldon*, vol. iii. p. 222.

[1] *Greville*, vol. iii. p. 88.

[2] Abercromby was member for Edinburgh. Jeffrey, who had been his colleague in the representation since 1832, was raised to the Scotch Bench about the time of Abercromby's appointment to the Mint; and Campbell, who had been rejected for Dudley, as one of "the base and bloody Whigs" (*Chancellors*, vol. viii. p. 427), and who had been in search of a seat for months, was returned for the Scotch capital with Abercromby. Spring Rice had a severe contest with Sugden for Cambridge.

resignation improved the position of the ministry: no more objections were offered in the Cabinet to the issue of a commission on the Irish Church; and Stanley, who exerted himself to prove that it involved "a principle destructive of the very existence of an Established Church,"[1] had the mortification to find that the ablest members on the Opposition benches repudiated his views, and that Peel was prepared to consider the propriety of redistributing Church property.[2] Ward's motion was rejected by a large majority,[3] and the House adopted the compromise which the issue of the commission afforded. Like many compromises, however, the commission satisfied no one. O'Connell, on the one hand, described it as a wet blanket.[4] The royal family, on the other hand, shared the opinions of Stanley. The king, forgetting his duties as a constitutional sovereign, thought proper to assure a deputation of the Irish Bishops of his resolution to defend the Church.[5] In signing the commission he declared that his signature pledged him to nothing.[6] The king's next brother, the Duke of Cumberland, formally declared in the House of Lords that he never could, and never would, consent to any alienation of Church property.[7] Nine years before a similar declaration, made by the Duke of York, had thrown the kingdom into excitement. Fortunately, in 1834 no such consequence was likely to ensue from any words which might fall from the Duke of Cumberland. In 1825 the Duke of York had been heir-presumptive to the throne. In 1834 a little girl, still in her teens, stood between the Crown and the Duke of Cumberland, and deprived the opinion of his Royal Highness of any significance.

The Irish Church Commission.

Impotent and improper, however, as were the speeches of king and duke, they had the natural effect of increasing

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxiv. p. 35.

[2] Ibid., p. 59. It was this speech which made Ellice observe that Peel should have been Stanley's successor. *Spencer*, p. 491.

[3] By 396 to 120. Ibid., p. 86.

[4] Ibid., p. 47.

[5] The king's speech is reported in *Ann. Reg.*, 1834, Hist., p. 43. Cf. *Hansard*, vol. xxiv. p. 24; and *Greville*, vol. iii. p. 92.

[6] *Stockmar*, vol. i. p. 326.

[7] *Hansard*, vol. xxiv. p. 307.

O'Connell's dislike to the commission and to the Tithe Bill in which the commission had originated. Two years before O'Connell's attitude of resistance would have led to a sharp debate between him and Stanley. Littleton had not the vanity to suppose that he could face O'Connell in the House, but he had the assurance to imagine that he could manage him outside of it.[1] The Coercion Bill of the previous year expired with the close of the session. O'Connell especially objected to the clauses in it which enabled the Lord Lieutenant to prohibit public meetings. Would it not be possible in renewing the bill to drop these clauses, on the understanding that O'Connell should allow the Tithe Bill to pass? It was true that Lord Wellesley had specially recommended the Cabinet to adhere to them, and that he had based his opinion on the "unanimous and powerful" recommendation of his subordinates.[2] Wellesley, Littleton thought, could easily be moved by a little pressure. A little management and a little tact seemed all that was necessary; and the man who set about effecting this notable scheme had less tact and less power of managing men than any member of the Government.

Littleton undertakes to manage O'Connell.

Wellesley had told Littleton to consult Brougham in all cases of difficulty. Brougham readily consented to the policy of abandoning the meetings clauses and agreed that both Littleton and he should write to the Viceroy and urge him to consent to their abandonment. The day after the letters were despatched, and three days before it was possible to receive answers to them, the Cabinet formally decided to adhere to the clauses; and Brougham had not the honesty to say a word about the letter which he had sent the day before to Wellesley.[3] Three days afterwards Grey

He is assisted by Brougham.

[1] "Leave me to manage Dan," was, according to Greville, his declaration on taking office. *Greville*, vol. iii. p. 103.

[2] *Ann. Reg.*, 1834, Chron., p. 329.

[3] The letter to Lord Wellesley was dated June 19: the Cabinet sat on June 20. Lord Wellesley's reply was received June 23. See Lord Hatherton's Memoir, pp. 9, 10. Brougham, in his Memoir (vol. iii. p. 392), suppresses his own share in the discreditable intrigue.

was surprised to receive a letter from the Viceroy pledging himself to govern Ireland without the clauses, which in every previous letter he had declared to be indispensable. The same post which brought Wellesley's letter to Grey produced a letter from the Viceroy to the Chief Secretary. It so happened that an election for Wexford was about to take place, and that O'Connell was contemplating a fresh agitation in consequence. Littleton, armed with Wellesley's letter, called on Althorp, proposed that he should see O'Connell and persuade him to abandon his agitation by assuring him that the Coercion Bill would not be renewed in its full rigour. Althorp assented to the suggestion, though he impressed caution on Littleton. Caution was a virtue which Nature had not bestowed on the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He sent at once for O'Connell.

Littleton's interview with O'Connell.

He told him of the Viceroy's offer; he told him of his own views; he assured him that the Coercion Act would not be brought in. He called him back to add that it would not, at any rate, be brought in by himself; and he never attended to Althorp's orders, except to impress on O'Connell that the communication was confidential.[1]

O'Connell, misled by the assurances of Littleton, urged his friends to support the Whig candidate for Wexford. For forty-eight hours Littleton satisfied himself by the reflection that his management had won the Whig candidate a few votes. His equanimity was soon disturbed. Wellesley's offer had been admittedly made in deference to suggestions from England; and Grey, annoyed that such suggestions should have been made without his knowledge, asked Wellesley to reconsider the matter on Irish grounds. In answer to the appeal Wellesley adhered to his offer, but continued to base it on the supposed necessities of the Government in England. The Cabinet again met on the 29th of June to consider the question,[2] and a majority of its members agreed to go on with the bill in its integrity. Littleton thought it his duty to break the possibility of such an occurrence to O'Connell. O'Connell

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxiv. p. 1105.
[2] Lord Hatherton's Memoir, p. 14.

told him that he had only one course to take—to resign.[1] But Littleton did not resign. He clung to the hope that Althorp would refuse to introduce the bill, and that Althorp's resignation would avert the necessity of his own. He recollected that, at the worst, his conversation with O'Connell had been secret, and he could not believe that his own indiscreet communication would be made public. On both points the event proved him wrong. Althorp, finding that his own retirement would lead to the immediate resignation of Grey, and ignorant of the indiscretion which Littleton had committed, gave a reluctant assent to the measure.[2] Grey introduced his bill; and O'Connell, thinking he had been tricked, declined to allow Littleton the advantage of secrecy, and revealed the particulars of his communication to the House.[3]

Shocked at the scrape into which he had fallen, Littleton resigned his office. His resignation on the 1st of July would have saved his character for consistency. His resignation on the 4th of July only increased the confusion. Althorp, Brougham, and Grey[4] begged him to go on; and Littleton consented to do so. But this consent only postponed the crisis for a few hours. On the 7th of July Althorp laid some Irish papers before the House and moved that they should be printed. O'Connell proposed to refer them to a select committee. Althorp secured in the division an easy victory over O'Connell; but he felt that he had no sound argument to rely upon. He could not support a proposal to which he was personally opposed without ruin to his character, and he was ashamed of the speech which he felt it his duty to make. That evening he communicated to Grey his determination to resign his office. Grey thought it impossible to carry on the Government without Althorp's assistance; and in laying his colleague's resignation before the king accompanied it with his own. On the 8th of July, he postponed the Coercion Bill for twenty-four hours, and on the

Littleton resigns.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxiv. p. 1111.
[2] *Spencer*, p. 499.
[3] *Hansard*, vol. xxiv. p. 1103.
[4] *Spencer*, pp. 503–4. Lord Hatherton's Memoir, pp. 63–65.

9th he explained, in an affecting speech, the causes of his retirement.[1]

The retirement of Lord Grey.

The retirement of Lord Grey in 1834 proved the conclusion of a political career which had extended over more than forty years. For nearly nine-tenths of the period Grey had been in opposition to the ministry. He had thus less opportunity of conferring benefit upon his country than almost any of his predecessors. Yet perhaps Britain owes more to him than to any other minister. Chatham's Ministry had been more glorious, Pitt's more enduring. Yet neither of them accomplished one tithe of the good which was reserved for Grey. The reform of a Parliament was not the most remarkable fact in Grey's career. The distinction for which he deserves to be recollected is that he had foreseen at thirty the necessity of the measure which he carried at seventy. This circumstance gives a unity and consistency to his life which none other of his predecessors and contemporaries can claim. Peel was as wise as Grey; but Grey, unlike Peel, was as prescient as he was wise.

His Administration.

Reform was the main object of Grey's Administration. Grey himself should be judged by the Reform Bill alone. It is true that his ministry carried other measures which deserve remembrance by humanity. The Cabinet to which Belgium owes its independence, to which three-quarters of a million of slaves owed their freedom, to which the working-classes owe the first Factory Act, to which England owes the Poor Law, has other claims than the reform of the House of Commons on the gratitude of posterity. These things, however, were the work of the ministry: they were not the special work of Grey. Grey, in fact, seemed to have been raised up to carry Reform. The passage of the Reform Bill made his own tenure of power an anachronism. He had grown up to old age amidst the abuses of the old system. He could not adapt himself completely to the new system which he had substituted for it. His enemies enumerated all the good places which he had given to his numerous

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxiv. pp. 1291, 1305.

relations, and asked whether Parliament had been reformed to provide pluralities for a brother, an embassy for a brother-in-law, a place in the Cabinet for one son-in-law, a Lordship of the Treasury for another, or an under secretaryship for a son. They forgot that old men are unable to divest themselves of the ideas which they have formed in their youth, and that it is easier to rebuild a house than alter the habits of a lifetime.

Posterity, however, should have forgotten the slight abuses to which Grey could stoop, and should have recollected the great Reform which it owes to his consistency. Grey has done for legislation what Watt did for trade. The inventor of steam supplied the force which made other inventions practicable. The minister of Reform supplied the force which made other reforms possible. Yet men render only a tardy tribute to their greatest benefactors. No fitting memorial has ever been erected in London to the inventor of the steam-engine. No fitting statue has been erected in Westminster to the memory of Grey. Statues of four of his contemporaries guard the vestibule of the Legislature. Statues of two of his subordinates have been placed in Parliament Square. Yet the nation, which has thus perpetuated the fame of Pitt and Fox, of Canning and Grattan, of Palmerston and Stanley, has erected no adequate monument to Grey. The visitor to Westminster who desires to find some worthy record of his great achievements must repair to the chamber where the representatives of a free people deliberate on the affairs of a world, in the interests, not of an oligarchy, but of a nation, and there say of him, as was said of Wren, "Si monumentum quæris circumspice."

Grey's great merits, hardly recognised by posterity, did not much affect his contemporaries. The possible reconstruction of the ministry formed a much more engrossing topic of conversation than the achievements of the late minister. From the king in his palace to the gossip in his club all men were discussing the necessities of the situation. The king was weary of Liberal measures. He accepted Grey's resignation,

and placed himself in communication with Melbourne. But he desired Melbourne to communicate with Wellington, Peel, and Stanley, and to endeavour at this crisis to prevail upon them to afford their aid and co-operation in the formation of an Administration upon an enlarged basis. Melbourne, distrusting coalitions in general, and thinking the union with Peel impracticable, declined the offer; and the king, annoyed at his refusal, ordered him to communicate the memorandum in which the offer had been suggested to the Opposition leaders. Its communication was duly acknowledged; and the king, forced to abandon his projects of coalition, and unprepared to place his fortunes in the hands of a Conservative Government, was compelled to entrust the formation of a new ministry to Melbourne.[1]

Melbourne is sent for.

In forming his new ministry Melbourne experienced only one difficulty: Grey had resigned because Althorp had retired; and the Liberals were unanimous in desiring Althorp's continuance in office. Two hundred and six of them addressed a letter to him expressing their regret at his retirement, and promising their support in the event of his remaining in office. The address was signed by politicians of every shade of opinion—by O'Connell, the Liberator; by Hume, the economist; by Grote, the philosophic Radical; by Cutlar Fergusson, the friend of Poland.[2] Such a demonstration had perhaps never previously been presented to any public man. Touched by it, Althorp reluctantly withdrew the resignation which he had already tendered and consented to remain in office. He had one advantage in altering his decision which none of his colleagues could have claimed. They, without exception, enjoyed the excitement and importance of office. He detested the duties and the cares which were connected with it. Some of them were ready to sacrifice their friends for the sake of preserving their power. He, on the contrary, sacrificed himself for the sake

Althorp withdraws his resignation.

[1] *Melbourne*, vol. ii. pp. 3–12. *Stockmar*, vol. i. p. 324. *Recollections and Suggestions*, p. 128. Peel's Memoir, vol. ii. p. 1.

[2] *Spencer*, p. 576. Cf. *Hansard*, vol. xxv. p. 61.

of his friends and his party. He remained in office; and he had the generosity to stipulate that Littleton's resignation should be cancelled as well as his own. The unfortunate official whose want of judgment had broken up the ministry was thus saved from the consequences of his own conduct, and was permitted to remain for a few additional months Chief Secretary of Ireland.

The task of forming the new ministry, or of reconstructing the old one, otherwise proved an easy one. Melbourne himself succeeded Grey at the Treasury; Duncannon, who had been a member of the Reform Committee of 1830, who since that time had administered the Woods and Forests, and who was brother-in-law to the new Prime Minister, was transferred to the Home Office; and Hobhouse rejoined the ministry in succession to Duncannon. The change which was thus effected was less a change of men than of measures. On the 17th of July, three days after the new ministry was formed, Melbourne told the Lords that the Government did not intend to proceed with the Coercion Bill, but to introduce another measure without the clauses which had given so much offence to O'Connell.[1] On the following evening Althorp, in the House of Commons, explained the nature of the measure which it was thus intended to introduce. The Lord Lieutenant, it was proposed, should have power to proclaim disturbed districts. In proclaimed districts, meetings held without authority were to be deemed illegal meetings; persons out of doors between sunset and sunrise were to be guilty of an offence; persons having arms in their possession were to be guilty of a misdemeanour. In addition to these clauses, which referred only to proclaimed districts, two general provisions were introduced for the protection of juries, and for preventing the collection of tumultuous assemblies by signal. The court-martial clauses, which had excited so much just indignation in 1833, and the meetings clauses, which had broken up the Government in 1834, were omitted from the measure.[2]

The Melbourne Administration.

The new Coercion Bill.

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxv. p. 32. [2] Ibid., p. 137.

A bill of this character seemed inoffensive enough when it was contrasted with the measure it had replaced. Althorp's frank confession, moreover, that the bill went "far beyond what the Constitution of the country ought to allow," disarmed the opposition of the Radicals. His proposal that the law should only remain in force till the 1st of August 1835 still further conciliated them. The only formidable criticisms came from the Tory benches. The Tories were furious at the omission of the severer clauses; and an Irish peer declared that "such a degree of inconsistency, of political tergiversation, of total unblushing abandonment of principle, never was exhibited by any set of public men in either House of Parliament."[1] Peel himself expressed[2] his "deep regret at the course which the ministers had thought proper to pursue," but at the same time intimated his intention of supporting them. In consequence of Peel's declaration the bill made rapid progress. Read a first time on the 18th of July,[3] it passed its second reading on the 21st,[4] its third reading on the 26th of July.[5] Three days afterwards Wellington endeavoured, in the Lords, to restore the omitted clauses: his amendment was negatived without a division, and the bill became law.[6]

The passage of the modified Coercion Bill relieved the ministry of one difficulty. But the modifications which had been introduced into the measure had been made with the view of pacifying O'Connell, and of securing his acceptance of the Tithe Bill; and O'Connell disliked the Tithe Bill as much as ever. The original bill, which had been brought into the House in February, had been slightly altered in June; and additional inducements had been given to the landowner to convert the tithe into a rent-charge on his estate;[7] but these

[1] Lord Wicklow. *Hansard*, vol. xxv. p. 32. [2] Ibid., p. 160. Ibid., p. 192. [4] By 146 votes to 25. Ibid., p. 323. [5] Ibid., p. 577. [6] Ibid., pp. 688–697.

[7] The original plan has already been explained. Under the amended plan the landowner was encouraged to convert the land-tax, for which the tithe was commuted, into a voluntary rent-charge (*vide supra*, p. 455). The rent-charge was to be a sum equal to the interest at 3½ per cent. on the amount of land-tax multiplied by four-fifths of the number of years' purchase which the land was worth. It is doubtful whether Littleton himself understood this complicated

alterations did not improve the position of the measure. The Tories disliked it because it openly deprived the Church of one-fifth of the tithe; the Irish disliked it because it left the Church four-fifths of its revenues. The Tories gave it a grudging support for the purpose of preventing the introduction of a larger measure. The Repealers met it with a vigorous resistance.

The Tithe Bill.

These tactics became clear enough on the 29th of July, when the House was at last asked to resolve itself into a committee on the bill. O'Connell, repeating his previous criticisms, asked for delay. The measure, so he argued, would give no satisfaction to the Irish. It could not come into complete operation for more than five years. There could, therefore, be no immediate hurry about it; and there was no reason why the House should not wait till the Church Commission had reported, and then deal with the whole question of the Irish Church.[1] His proposal was resisted by the united strength of Tories and Liberals, and the House decided by 154 votes to 14 to go into committee.[2] O'Connell had sustained one of the most severe defeats which he had yet encountered; but he was on the eve of the greatest victory which he ever gained in the House of Commons. On the following night, when the House was in committee, he startled it with a new proposal. Littleton had always pleaded for five years' delay before the bill came into complete operation, in order that the Government

O'Connell's amendment.

scheme. The loss to the Church was to be made good by the application of the Perpetuity Purchase Fund. Stanley cut the proposition to pieces in a speech which was long recollected as the "thimblerigging speech." "He had never witnessed anything like the principle on which Government were proceeding, except among a class of persons who were not generally received into society, and the instruments of whose calling were a small deal table and four or five thimbles. The skill of these persons was shown by dexterous shifting of a pea—placing it first under one thimble, then under another, and calling on the bystanders to bet under which thimble it was. His Right Honourable friend had got the pocket of the Church, the pocket of the State, the pocket of the landlord, the pocket of the tenant, the Perpetuity Fund, and the Consolidated Fund, under his various thimbles . . . and, as all the thimbles were taken up it would be found that the property had altogether disappeared, and the dupes would be laughed at." *Hansard*, vol. xxiv. p. 1147.

[1] Ibid., vol. xxv. p. 713. [2] Ibid., p. 747.

might have the opportunity of collecting the arrears due to it for the advances which it had made to the tithe-owners. The Government, O'Connell urged, might fairly run the risk of losing these arrears for the sake of pacifying Ireland. In that case the tithe could be converted immediately into a rent-charge, and two-fifths of it be at once abandoned. "That would give an immediate bonus of 40 per cent. to all, and everybody would understand it."[1] A portion of the loss to the Church could be made good out of the Consolidated Fund, which, in its turn, could be repaid out of the Perpetuity Purchase Fund.[2] The proposal commended itself to the good sense of almost every Liberal in the House of Commons. The Government, indeed, thought it necessary to oppose so radical an alteration of the principle of their measure. Notwithstanding this opposition O'Connell's amendment was carried by a large majority.[3] The measure passed rapidly through its remaining stages, and was read a third time on the 5th of August.[4]

The bill in the Lords.

The bill, however, had still an ordeal to go through. The Lords had still time to save two-fifths of the property of a dying Church. Moderate men thought that the Peers would have acted wisely in restoring the measure to its original shape, and in throwing on the Commons the unpopularity of rejecting it. Compromises did not find much favour with the House of Lords in 1834. By a large majority—189 votes to 122—the Peers decided on rejecting the bill altogether.[5] Their decision was productive of consequences which the most clear-sighted among them

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxv. p. 757.

[2] 17½ per cent. Cf. *Hansard*, vol. xxvii. p. 23, and Bill No. 545, Session 1834. The Perpetuity Purchase Fund was the fund available from the reduction of Irish bishoprics. Under Littleton's scheme the tithe owner would have received (placing the value of land at about twenty-eight years' purchase) £80 rent-charge out of every £100 of tithe. Under O'Connell's scheme he would have received £60 rent-charge and £17, 10*s*. out of the Perpetuity Fund, or £77, 10*s*.

[3] Ibid., vol. xxv. p. 771.

[4] Ibid., p. 993.

[5] Ibid., p. 1204. *Courts and Cabinets of William IV. and Victoria*, vol. ii. pp. 118, 119.

failed to perceive at the time. The bill, if it had become law, might possibly have preserved the Church of Ireland. Its rejection made the disendowment of the Church a mere question of time.

The Lords threw out the Tithe Bill on Monday, the 11th of August; on the following Friday Parliament was prorogued. The session had been long; Peers and Commoners were equally anxious to escape from the heat and bustle of London; but they had not the satisfaction of reflecting that they had accomplished anything of importance. The new Poor Law was their only considerable achievement; and, in passing the Poor Law, Parliament had merely ratified the conclusions of an able commission. In every other respect the session had been a failure. The Government had not succeeded in satisfying any one. It had alarmed the Tories without conciliating its own supporters; divisions had sprung up among its followers; dissensions had dispersed the Cabinet. Grey's Administration had been wrecked on Irish questions, and Ireland was still unpacified. "The Irish people," wrote O'Connell to Duncannon, at the commencement of the recess, "allege, and they allege truly, that since Earl Grey came into office, even to the present moment, nothing has been done for Ireland." "I write more in sorrow than in anger," he added in another letter. "It is true that you have deceived me—bitterly and cruelly deceived Ireland. But we should have known you better. You belong to the Whigs; and, after four years of the most emaciating experience, we ought indeed to have known that Ireland had nothing to expect from the Whigs but insolent contempt and malignant but treacherous hostility."[1]

O'Connell's attack on the Whigs.

O'Connell's indignation was not altogether just. Throughout the whole of the session he had been treated with exceptional deference by the Government. Irish members declared that his influence was paramount in Downing Street.[2] The

[1] *Ann. Reg.*, 1834, Hist., p. 333.

[2] Lambert, writing to Lord Cloncurry, on June 3, said: "If you want to carry any point with the Government, apply to Mr. O'Connell for his interest: it will not fail." *Cloncurry*, p. 461.

Tithe Bill had been altered to secure his support. His amendment to it had been accepted by the House of Commons: its loss had been due to the Tory Peers; and, in strict justice, O'Connell should have vented his displeasure on Cumberland and Wellington, and not upon Duncannon. Great agitators, however, cannot always afford to be just, and O'Connell chose to hold the ministry responsible for all its failures. His conduct was partly justified by the evident mortification of some of the ministers. Melbourne and Althorp, indeed, cared but little for the rejection of their measures. From their point of view it was of no importance whether the tithe question was settled in 1835 or 1834. But there was another member of the Cabinet whose restless disposition was less easily satisfied. Brougham was deeply mortified at the discredit into which the Government had fallen. He was gradually becoming conscious of the mistake which he had made in accepting the Chancellorship. He yearned for power beyond all his contemporaries, and he found that he had no power in the listless assembly which only laughed at his most splendid declamations.

Brougham's annoyance.

Another reason, moreover, increased Brougham's mortification. For two years after the formation of the Whig Ministry he had been the subject of almost daily eulogy. Every newspaper had borne testimony to his abilities and his services. The Whig journals had ascribed all the successes of the Government to his energy: the Tory papers had excepted him from their denunciations of the Cabinet.[1] But, after three years of office, the chorus of praise was suddenly arrested. At the commencement of 1833 some newspaper suggested that the Whig Chancellor was meditating an alliance with the Tories. The god of 1832 was thenceforward regarded as of no higher importance than a Ripon or a Richmond. But he still retained the support of the *Times*. In 1834 an act of treachery on the part of one of his own officers brought

1 Campbell, in *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. viii. p. 413, mentions this, which will be evident to any one who turns over the newspaper files for the period.

upon him the thunders of the leading journal. The *Times* was opposed to the new Poor Law. Its criticisms on the bill damaged the position of the Government; and Althorp, alarmed at the ability and violence of its articles, wrote a private note to Brougham, asking the Chancellor to see him upon them. Brougham tore up the letter and threw the fragments on the floor. Some subordinate picked them up, pasted them together, and sent them to Barnes, the editor of the *Times*.[1] Either from this cause or for some other reason the *Times* at once commenced a series of attacks upon Brougham. It denied his honesty; it denounced his intrigues; it ridiculed his vanity; it even hinted that he was out of his mind.[2] The state of excitement into which Brougham habitually threw himself almost justified these insinuations, and calm diarists writing for posterity gravely recorded the opinion that he was undoubtedly mad.[3]

Rest is the best remedy for an overwrought brain. But men whose minds are wrung by work and excitement are the last persons willing to adopt the cure. The close of the session gave Brougham leisure to devote his restless energy to some new pursuit; and, in an evil hour for his fortunes, he decided on making a political tour in Scotland. He had some excuse for doing so. The city of Edinburgh desired to entertain Grey at a public dinner in September, and asked Brougham to come to the dinner. The common friends of both statesmen thought that Brougham would have done well to have declined the invitation. For twenty years he had been Grey's most intimate friend, and his own conduct had produced the catastrophe which had led to Grey's fall. It was naturally concluded that Brougham was the last person whom Grey would have desired to meet at dinner. Brougham, however, was in no mood to regulate his conduct by the requirements of taste, and decided to be present at the banquet. Once in Scotland, what should prevent him from receiving the homage of the Scotch? Born

His tour in Scotland.

[1] Campbell, *Chancellors*, vol. viii. p. 441.
[2] Ibid., p. 443.
[3] *Greville*, vol. iii. p. 120.

in Scotland, educated in Scotland, the foundations of his reputation had been laid in Scotland. The influence of the *Times* did not, at that time, penetrate to the Highlands; and the Scotchmen were, therefore, ignorant of the attacks made on the Chancellor. Brougham, certain of an enthusiastic reception, fancied that the enthusiasm of the Scotch would silence the *Times*. He made a sort of royal progress through the land o' cakes, from "Maiden Kirk to Johnny Groat's," visiting the houses of great noblemen, addressing meetings of Scotch burgesses, praising the king, praising the ministry, praising its accomplishments, and praising himself.

In one sense the progress was a success. Brougham was everywhere received with enthusiasm. The noblemen who feasted him, the ladies who "romped" with him,[1] the people who cheered him, all contributed to increase the warmth of his reception. In another sense the progress was a failure. At Inverness the Chancellor was tempted to declare that the Government had done "too much rather than too little." The storm of criticism which was excited by the remark induced him at Aberdeen and Dundee to advocate more reforms. Using Radical language at one place, employing Conservative arguments at another, he amazed and alarmed the friends who were not merely amused at his eccentricity. The tour was appropriately concluded by a speech at the Grey banquet at Edinburgh, in which, while he had the good taste to praise Grey, he had the imprudence to condemn the "hasty spirits" who were in such a hurry to "go on a voyage of discovery to unknown regions" that they "would not tarry to look whether the compass" was on board. The allusion was understood to refer to Durham, who, it was known, resented some of the more Conservative speeches which Brougham had made during his progress. Durham retorted that he was one of those who saw with regret "every hour which passes over the existence of recognised and unreformed

[1] Campbell says, in *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. viii. p. 450, that at one great house the romping was so familiar that the ladies revenged themselves on him by hiding the Great Seal in a trencher, and by making the Chancellor search for it blindfolded, guided by the swelling or falling notes of a piano.

abuses." The difference, thus begun, soon extended. Durham attacked Brougham in a speech at Glasgow. Brougham attacked Durham in the pages of the *Edinburgh*. The Radicals naturally rallied round the champion who favoured the broadest reforms; and Brougham had the mortification of finding that, while his conduct in the House of Lords had deprived him of the confidence of king, Whigs, and Tories, his speeches in Scotland had lost him the support of Radical Reformers.[1]

He is attacked from all sides.

Brougham's conduct was almost universally denounced. Some of his critics were disposed to treat his vagaries with contempt; others were inclined to visit them with censure. O'Connell was among the few included in the former category. "I pay very little attention" —so he wrote to the people of Ireland—"to anything Lord Brougham says. He makes a greater number of foolish speeches than any other man of the present generation."[2] The king was among the more numerous critics who were disposed to look on the matter more seriously. "His Majesty is known"—so a contemporary critic could write[3]—"to entertain an aversion towards one individual (by courtesy called learned) of the Cabinet. Respecting him the king makes no scruple of speaking out as of an itinerant mountebank, who has not only disgraced the Cabinet of which he formed part, but has dragged the Great Seal of England through the kennel, and degraded, by his unnumbered antics and meannesses, the highest offices of the law and State in England." "There could not," said another critic, "be a more revolting spectacle than for the highest law officer of the empire to be travelling about like a quack doctor through the provinces, puffing him-

[1] The best short account of Brougham's progress is in *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. viii. pp. 446–456. Cf. the newspapers of the day, and *Ann. Reg.*, 1834, Chron., pp. 142 147. Those who care to follow the unsavoury details of a personal controversy will find Brougham's side of it in the *Edinburgh Review* for October 1834; and Durham's Glasgow speech in the *Times* of October 31, or copied from the *Times* in most of the London papers of November 1, 1834.

[2] *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. viii. p. 453.

[3] The *Times* of November 17, 1834

self and his little nostrums, and committing and degrading the Government of which he had the honour to be a member. His Majesty could not but be indignant at such conduct."[1] A young man, who had already established a reputation for sarcasm, wrote still more severely of "the vagabond and overrated rebel—vomiting his infamous insolence in language mean as his own soul."[2] Attacks of this character were made on the Chancellor, both in society and the press, throughout the autumn of 1834. Newspaper criticism is frequently ephemeral; but the articles on Brougham in the autumn of 1834 had more than an ephemeral interest. They accounted for the decision at which the king almost immediately afterwards arrived, to dismiss the ministry; they accounted for the exclusion from office, to which Brougham afterwards had to submit, throughout the remainder of his long career.

The position of the Cabinet.

The Whig Cabinet of the autumn of 1834 differed materially from the Whig Cabinet which had been formed in the autumn of 1830. Brougham still retained the Chancellorship; Althorp still held the post of Finance Minister; Palmerston still occupied the Foreign Office; and Lansdowne, Holland, and Charles Grant still filled the comparatively obscure positions to which they had been appointed four years before. With these exceptions the composition of the ministry had been changed. Grey had been succeeded by Melbourne; Melbourne by Duncannon; Goderich by Stanley; Stanley by Spring Rice; Durham by Ripon; Ripon by Carlisle; Carlisle by Mulgrave; Graham by Auckland; Richmond by Conyngham. The ministry, however, continued to enjoy the advantage of Althorp's presence in the House of Commons. There are few things more remarkable in the history of the present century than the position which Althorp maintained in Parliament. He commenced his ministerial career as leader of the unreformed House of Commons. He concluded his ministerial career by

[1] *Courier*, November 15, 1834. Campbell (*Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. viii. p. 459) ascribes the passage to the *Times*. The passage was copied from the *Courier* into the *Times* of November 17.

[2] *Vindication of the English Constitution*, by Disraeli the Younger, p. 141.

leading the reformed House of Commons. He had consequently to adapt himself to the humours of two assemblies, elected in different ways, from different sources, and swayed by different feelings; and in both assemblies he obtained an influence and an ascendency which contemporary observers thought had no parallel in British history. Yet the minister who obtained this success had none of the qualifications which fit men to lead their fellow-men. He had no eloquence, he had no genius. He had, perhaps, more knowledge of finance than of any other subject, yet he was an unsuccessful financier. His efficiency as a leader was not due to his capacity, but his honesty. He was trusted by the House of Commons and by the country as no minister had ever been trusted before, and as, perhaps, no minister will ever be trusted again.[1] He is an admirable example of the truth of the old adage, that "Honesty is the best policy." It is hardly an exaggeration to say that his mere statement was always accepted as the whole truth, and that his contemporaries were never once at fault in the implicit reliance which they placed upon his word. Statesmen, tempted by the supposed requirements of place, are, unhappily, too frequently driven to resort to subterfuges and prevarications which they would scorn to use in private life. These men would do well to contrast the humiliating position, in which they are commonly placed by the exposure of their artifices, with the unexampled success which was uniformly achieved by Althorp's straightforward conduct.

Althorp's presence in the House of Commons alone preserved the ministry from falling to pieces; and in November

1 "When the Poor Law Amendment Bill was going through the House of Commons, Lord Althorp, who was then the ministerial leader of the House, was called on to answer a strong objection which was raised to one of the clauses. He rose and said that this very objection had occurred to himself; and that he had thereupon stated it to the framers of the bill, who had given an answer which had completely removed the objection. But what that answer was he was sorry to say he could not at that moment recollect, though he assured the House that it was perfectly satisfactory. This satisfied every one, such was the confidence felt in his judgment and integrity." Whateley's *Annotation to Bacon's Essay on Praise*, p. 531. Greville has the same story, though he relates it less distinctly. *Memoirs*, part ii. vol. ii. p. 153.

1834 Althorp succeeded to the House of Lords. The ministry had, at once, to select a leader in the House of Commons. There were only five men who were thought of for the position. Two of the five—Abercromby and Hobhouse—had so recently been appointed to the Cabinet that they could hardly be placed over their other colleagues. Of the other three Rice had an insecure seat at Cambridge;[1] Palmerston had devoted himself almost exclusively to foreign politics;[2] and a process of exhaustion, therefore, pointed to the selection of Russell. The Cabinet ultimately decided that Melbourne should go down to Brighton, where the king was staying, and submit Russell's name for approval. Melbourne reached Brighton on the 13th of November. The king told him that he thought Russell would "make a wretched figure;"[3] that Abercromby and Rice were worse than Russell; and he expressed his alarm at the possible consequences of the inquiry which had been instituted into the Irish Church. On the following morning he placed in his minister's hand a letter of dismissal, announcing his intention to send for Wellington. Melbourne had nothing to do but drive back to London: oddly enough, carrying with him the summons to Wellington. He arrived in town late, drove to Downing Street, and saw Palmerston and Brougham. Brougham promised to keep the catastrophe a secret, and broke his promise immediately afterwards by communicating it to the *Chronicle* and the *Times*. He had to give some reason for his own dismissal and that of his colleagues, and he could hardly have been expected to lay the blame of it upon himself. He ascribed it to a conspiracy between the Tories and the queen.[4]

Althorp becomes Lord Spencer.

Dismissal of the ministry.

[1] *Greville*, vol. iii. p. 141. [2] *Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 209.

[3] *Stockmar*, vol. i. p. 329.

[4] The *Chronicle* announced the fall of the ministry in a leading article; the *Times* in Brougham's own words, which concluded with the memorable remark: "The queen has done it all." I have turned over the files of all the leading newspapers of November 1834, but I cannot find that any other journal had the information. The *Times* contradicted the statement about the queen in its next issue (November 17). Lord Russell says (*Recollections and Suggestions*, p. 131) that the *Chronicle* added the words about the queen. His recollection was not accurate in this matter.

Brougham could not have taken a worse step either for himself or for the sake of his colleagues. The king was offended at the insinuation that an intrigue of the queen's had led to the dismissal of his ministers. He came, at once, up to London; insisted on the immediate resignation of his advisers: declining even to wait for the formal formation of a new Cabinet before he parted with his old ministers. His conduct, in this respect, was, to say the least, unusual. It emphasised the whole proceeding of which it was really only a very unimportant part. The true significance of the king's policy was to be found in the dismissal of his ministers, not in the method in which he dismissed them. Their dismissal was an assertion of personal will to which the British people were happily unaccustomed. George IV. had occasionally threatened to dismiss his ministers, but he had never ventured on carrying his threats into execution. George III. had dismissed the great Lord Chatham at the commencement of his reign, and Lord Grenville towards the close of it. But many things had happened in England since the fall of the Talents Ministry; and the policy which was possible in 1807 was no longer practicable in 1834. William IV. would hardly have ventured on imitating his father's example, if the successive resignations of some members of the Cabinet, and the conduct of others of them, had not weakened the Government and brought it into disrepute. He saw that the machinery of administration was tumbling to pieces, and attempted to inflict with his own hands the finishing blow. The sequel will show that he miscalculated his power. His ministry, if he had left it alone, would probably have fallen. His attempt to destroy it gave it new cohesion, and ensured the Whigs an additional six years of office.

END OF VOL. III.

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